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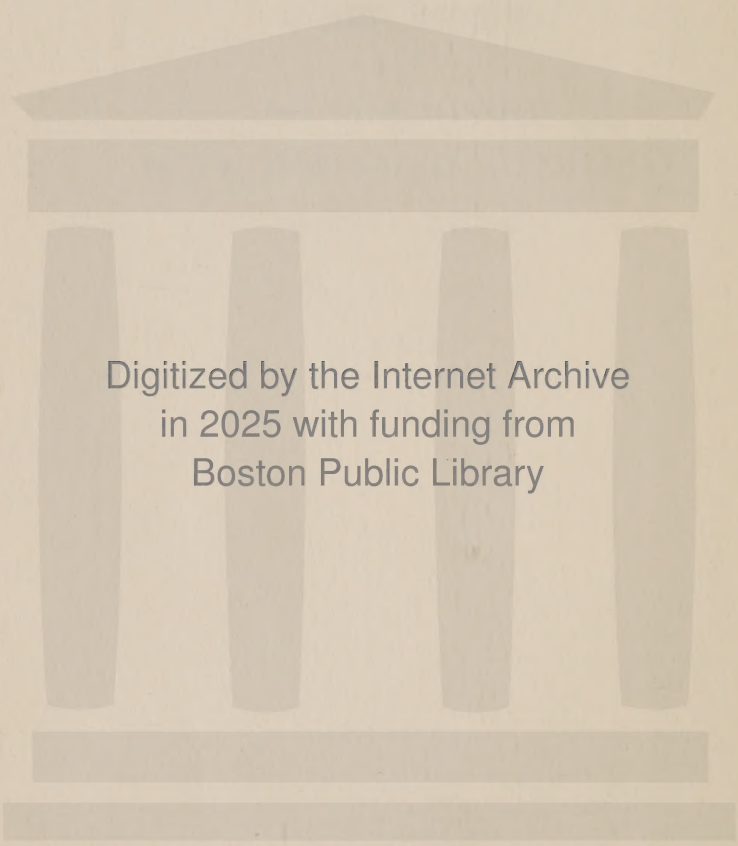
Regents' Edition

THE DIARIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON 1748–1799

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME I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GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE DIARIES OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON
1748-1799

EDITED BY
JOHN C. FITZPATRICK, A.M.

VOLUME I
1748–1770

PUBLISHED FOR
THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION
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TO

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

IN WHOSE SERVICE

GEORGE WASHINGTON

SPENT THE GREATER PART OF HIS LIFE

THIS PUBLICATION OF HIS DIARIES IS

DEDICATED

BY

THE REGENT AND VICE-REGENTS

OF THE

MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE UNION

PREFATORY NOTE

UNRELATED portions of the diaries of George Washington have been published in the past, at different times and under various editorial plans; some of these publications are not now readily accessible and all of them, added together, comprise hardly one-sixth of the available record. It remained for the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, with patriotic understanding and generosity to undertake the publication of every available diary in a complete and uniform edition.

On page xv is given the first complete list of all the diaries, from the earliest known to the one containing the last words written by Washington, and the diaries are there numbered for convenience of reference. These numbers are assigned arbitrarily to those diaries only whose one-time existence is fairly inferential, and it is to be hoped that some of those now missing have survived and will come to light in the future.

Certain of the diaries were given away by Bushrod Washington, who inherited his uncle's papers; thus, unfortunately, impairing the completeness of the record, but rendering the title of the present owners unassailable; other diaries, however, disappeared in ways decidedly questionable.

At present there are forty original diaries known to be in existence; thirty-six of these came into the possession of the Government when the Washington Papers were purchased from the family in 1834 and 1849, and are now, with those Papers, in the Library of Congress. Four diaries are known to be in private hands; two others (Numbers 3 and 4 of the List) exist only in printed form, and two more (Numbers 40 and 43), which were in exist-

ence prior to the Civil War and were then published by Benson J. Lossing, have since disappeared.

It seems unlikely that the diary habit became confirmed until Washington was nearly forty years old, and it is altogether probable that his early diaries were kept only as records of special and unusual times, such as the trip to Barbadoes in 1751–52. The two diaries of the French and Indian War period were more in the nature of official reports than private diaries, and, during the term of Washington's command on the western frontier, after the Braddock expedition, his letter-book was kept in such form as to obviate the need of a diary record so far as his official activities were concerned. The inference is strong that no personal diaries were kept during the years 1755–59.

The consecutive diary record began apparently in 1760, but the entries were not regularly made until 1767, which year marks the beginning of the full daily record. From February 1, 1767, the record was faithfully kept until Washington's election as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Armies in June, 1775. War activities compelled a discontinuance of the practice, and the attempt to resume, made in 1781, failed for the same reason. Washington returned to Mount Vernon the end of December, 1783, and did not, apparently, recommence his diary until his western journey in the fall of 1784. On his return from this trip there seems to have been another lapse and the regular diary record was not resumed until January 1, 1785. From this date the entries are regular until the Presidential duties interfered. There are now, however, so many gaps during the years 1789–99, gaps for which diaries more than likely existed, that it is difficult to conjecture the real situation. It seems probable, however, that diaries were regularly kept from 1789 to the end of Washington's life; though some months of the year 1797 have no entries,

due probably, to the fatigue and strain of public life, then but recently closed.

The note-books in which the earlier diaries were kept lacked uniformity as to size and shape; the earliest known diary, that of the journey across the Blue Ridge Mountains in 1748, was recorded in a small, parchment-bound pocket-memorandum book, in which were entered also miscellaneous practice forms of letters, survey notes, and random juvenile rhyme. The year 1760 is recorded, in part, in a home-made memorandum book of unusual shape; but, beginning with the year 1759, the record was kept in the interleaved and uniform edition of the Virginia Almanack, published in Williamsburg, by Purdie & Dixon. The diary, discontinued in June, 1775, was renewed in 1781 in the blank memorandum books then in use in the Orderly Office at the headquarters of the Continental Army. These books somewhat resemble in shape, size, and binding the standard stenographer's note-book of to-day; the pages, however, were unruled. The size of this page pleased Washington better, apparently, than the smaller page of the old Virginia Almanack, for, after the war, he continued to use these books for his diaries until 1795, when he again had recourse to the interleaved almanacs of the day.

There is abundant evidence that Washington's method in keeping his diary was to make rough memoranda of the day's occurrences upon loose slips, or improvised note-books of a few leaves stitched together, and, later, sometimes some days later to copy out these rough notes into a permanent diary record. In this recopying the phraseology was frequently altered to what he thought better diction, or smoother reading; but oftentimes words were inadvertently omitted in the transcribing and transposition of dates and events occasionally occurs. Two of these rough preliminary records have survived (Numbers 34 and 44), but in the latter case the final clean copy is missing.

Ruled paper was unknown in America during Washington's lifetime and his invariable regularity of line spacing was obtained by means of a heavily ruled guide-sheet (which he made himself) beneath his writing-paper; he followed this plan in copying out his diaries. This practice gives us evidence of his failing vision, as the diaries, after the Presidency, show frequent examples of his pen running off the outer edge of the small diary page, and whole words, written on the ruled guide-sheet beneath, escaped notice of not being on the diary page itself.

The value of the diaries as an historical record is such that it is greatly to be regretted that any of them should be missing, or unavailable. As a whole they constitute a most remarkable record of a remarkable man. The matter-of-fact, unemotional recital carries with it a personal flavor impossible to resist and its biographical value is inestimable. There are touches in the diaries that go far toward correcting the misapprehension, generally existent, that Washington lacked a sense of humor; while the homely record of day after day at Mount Vernon gives us a clearer concept of the real George Washington than can be obtained through the numerous Lives of him that have been published. It may be noted also that in the matter of spelling, a point so often dwelt upon, Washington's weakness lay in the simple words; oddly enough the difficult ones are usually spelled correctly.

A word is necessary as to the plan of this publication. The spelling and capitalization of the original is closely followed; superior letters which occur by the thousands have been brought down to the line; the ampersand, also of frequent occurrence, has been spelled out, except where it occurs in the monthly headings and in the *et cetera*, which Washington nearly always wrote as '&ca.' The

monthly headings and daily dates have been made uniform, and the disconcerting hyphen, which Washington used so frequently, has been changed to comma, or semicolon as the sense demanded. All other punctuation has been scrupulously followed.

Throughout his entire life Washington kept a record of the weather as an aid, apparently, to his agricultural activities; with the daily record of several years readily available he possessed a rough-and-ready weather indicator of some value to his farm plans. This weather record he kept as a separate and distinct series of entries from the other daily diary memoranda and its exclusion from this publication has been a matter of long consideration. It was finally decided to omit it, as much because Washington himself considered it a thing apart from his regular diary record, as because it has no practical value to that record. Enough of it is included in the early years to show its general character, and where, toward the close of Washington's life, he combined this meteorological record with his regular diary entries, it is included in this publication whenever it seems to have bearing on or connection with the daily events, or its exclusion would cause an awkward reading.

In making acknowledgments and recording thanks for assistance of all kinds received during the progress of the work, the editor is happy to acknowledge, first of all, his obligations to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union for their effectual coöperation and generous encouragement at all times. The Nation is already their debtor for their intelligent care and perfect management of Mount Vernon. Maintaining the home of Washington in such manner that the original atmosphere of the place is retained, almost as vividly as in Washington's lifetime,

is a triumph impossible of accomplishment except through high ideals and sympathetic understanding. There is now to be added to this the obligation created by the patriotic publication of these diaries; for, as it is impossible to realize George Washington without visiting Mount Vernon, so it is impossible to understand him without reading his diaries.

To Dr. Worthington C. Ford I am indebted, as always, for valuable aid and advice. Dr. Ford made a beginning in editing the diaries, but an unfortunate and unexpected illness forced him to relinquish the task. Such notes as he had prepared were generously turned over to me and are justly credited to him. The editor, better perhaps than any one, is fully aware that it is regrettable that the entire work could not have been carried to completion under his scholarly direction.

To Mr. Fairfax Harrison, of Virginia, I am doubly indebted for much valuable information respecting the people and places of the tide-water country and back counties of Virginia. He gave freely of his valuable time and great store of information, solely in the interests of historical accuracy, and the notes on Virginia and the Virginians are the richer for his extensive knowledge.

To Mr. John Gribbel, of Pennsylvania, sincere thanks are due for his prompt generosity in permitting the diary for 1797, which he owns, to be copied for this publication, and to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, of Maryland, I am indebted for valuable information regarding Maryland and the Marylanders.

Most of the notes credited to the late Dr. Joseph Meridith Toner have been revised and rewritten in the light of the more exact information now available, and some explanation respecting these seems fitting. Dr. Toner was a Washington enthusiast who freely spent himself and his substance in accumulating data concerning the First

American. His accumulations are large in quantity and include a vast number of transcripts, the originals of some of which are no longer available, if indeed they exist at all. Dr. Toner died before the present-day methods of historical criticism had been well developed, and he was, in addition, handicapped at times by a too worshipful enthusiasm; but no serious study of the available Washingtoniana can be made without the investigator becoming deeply impressed with the tremendous and valuable work done by Dr. Toner. The editor takes pleasure in paying tribute to the Doctor's industry and freely acknowledges his indebtedness for much lightening of drudgery and for many time-saving clues to be found in the indefatigable efforts of this sincere admirer of George Washington.

To acknowledge the cordial coöperation of Houghton Mifflin Company, throughout the entire course of publication, is but simple justice. Their appreciation of the character of the work has been complete, their expert craftsmanship ungrudging and tireless, and their critical editorial watchfulness has been highly helpful at all times.

Last, but by no means least, the editor takes pleasure in voicing for the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union and for himself, the acknowledgments due to Dr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of Congress, for the unrestricted use of the diaries in his custody, without which courtesy this publication would not have been possible.

J. C. Fitzpatrick

Washington, D.C.

NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

THE frontispiece to Volume I is reproduced by permission from the original Stuart portrait in the possession of Mr. Walter Jennings, of New York. (See note to the diary entry for January 7, 1797.) The frontispieces to Volumes II and III are facsimiles of pages from the original diaries in the Library of Congress. The 1768 page shows the form of the diary record in the interleaved Virginia Almanacs, while the 1785 page illustrates the appearance of the diaries recorded in the blank note-books. The facsimile of the Youthful Survey of Hell Hole in Volume I is also from the original in the Library of Congress. The print of Mount Vernon reproduced for the frontispiece of Volume IV is from the engraving issued in 1798 by the erratic London publisher John Stockdale, and is one of the very few pictures of Mount Vernon published during Washington's lifetime.

THE COMPLETE LIST OF THE DIARIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

This being the first publication of a complete list of the diaries, they are numbered, arbitrarily, for convenience in reference. This consecutive numbering is applied to the diaries that exist, the diaries known to have existed, and the diaries reasonably conjectured to have existed all traces of which have now disappeared. These last are included on the chance and with the hope that some, at least, have survived and will come to light in the future.

REGENTS' NUMBER		
1.	1747/8, Mar. 11–Apr. 13.	Journey over the Mountains. Original in the Library of Congress.
	1748, Apr. 14–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1749.	Missing, or not kept.
	1750.	Missing, or not kept.
	1751, Jan. 1–Sep. 27.	Missing, or not kept.
2.	1751, Sep. 28–1752, Mar. 4.	Journey to Barbadoes. Original in the Library of Congress. (Badly mutilated. The part here printed is from Oct. 4, 1751 to Mar. 4, 1752, as far as decipherable.)
	1752, Mar. 5–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1753, Jan. 1–Oct. 30.	Missing, or not kept.
3.	1753, Oct. 31–1754, Jan. 16.	Journey to the French Commandant. (Exists in printed form only. First edition, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1754.)
	1754, Jan. 17–Mar. 30.	Missing, or not kept.
4.	1754, Mar. 31–June 27.	The March towards the Ohio. (Exists in printed form only. First published by the French Government in the official publication, '*Mémoire contenant le précis des faits*,' etc., Paris, 1754. Republished several times in England and in America.)
	1754, June 28–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1755–1759.	Missing, or not kept.
5.	1760, Jan. 1–Apr. 11.	In the Virginia Almanack. (Not every day entered.) Original in the Library of Congress.
6.	1760, Jan. 1–May 22.	(Not every day entered.) Original in the Library of Congress.
	1760, May 23–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1761, Jan. 1–May 23.	Missing, or not kept.
7.	1761, May 24–Oct. 22.	In the Virginia Almanack. (Not every day entered.) Original in the Library of Congress.
	1761, Oct. 23–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1762.	Missing, or not kept.
	1763, Jan. 1–Mar. 1.	Missing, or not kept.

REGENTS' NUMBER		
8.	1763, Mar. 2–Nov. 18.	Journey to the Dismal Swamp. In the Virginia Almanack. (Not every day entered; the Dismal Swamp journey, October, is in lead pencil.) Original in the Library of Congress.
	1763, Nov. 19–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1764, Jan. 1–Mar. 28.	Missing, or not kept.
9.	1764, Mar. 29–Oct. 18.	In the Virginia Almanack. (Not every day entered. The Dismal Swamp journey, October, 1763, is copied in ink from the pencil record in No. 8, before and after the 1764 entries.) Original in the Library of Congress.
	1764, Oct. 19–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
10.	1765, Jan. 1–Nov. 13.	In the Virginia Almanack. (Not every day entered.) Original in the Library of Congress.
	1765, Nov. 14–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1766, Jan. 1–Jan. 13.	Missing, or not kept.
11.	1766, Jan. 14–Oct. 29.	In the Virginia Almanack. (Not every day entered.) Original in the Library of Congress.
	1766, Oct. 30–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
	1767, Jan. 1–Jan. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
12.	1767, Feb. 1–Nov. 20.	In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
13.	1767, Nov. 21–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
14.	1768, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
15.	1769, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
16.	1770, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	Journey down the Ohio. In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
17.	1771, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
18.	1772, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
19.	1773, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	Journey to New York. In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
20.	1774, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	Journey to Philadelphia (First Continental Congress). In the Virginia Almanack. Original in the Library of Congress.
21.	1775, Jan. 1–June 19.	Journey to Philadelphia (Second Continental Congress). Original in the Library of Congress.
	1775, June 20–Dec. 31.	Not kept.
	1776–1780.	Not kept.
	1781, Jan. 1–Apr. 30.	Not kept.
22.	1781, May 1–Aug. 14.	New York campaign. Original in the Library of Congress.
23.	1781, Aug. 15–Nov. 5.	Yorktown campaign. Original in the Library of Congress.

REGENTS' NUMBER		
	1781, Nov. 6–Dec. 31.	Not kept.
	1782–1783.	Not kept.
	1784, Jan. 1–Aug. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
24.	1784, Sep. 1–Oct. 4.	Journey to western Pennsylvania and Virginia. Original in the Library of Congress.
25.	1784, Oct. 5–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
26.	1785, Jan. 1–May 16.	Original in the Library of Congress.
27.	1785, May 17–Sep. 26.	Original in the Library of Congress.
28.	1785, Sep. 27–1786, Jan. 16.	Original in the Library of Congress.
29.	1786, Jan. 17–Apr. 30.	Original in the Library of Congress.
30.	1786, May 1–July 26.	Original in the Library of Congress.
31.	1786, July 27–Oct. 18.	Original in the Library of Congress.
32.	1786, Oct. 19–1787, Mar. 30.	Original in the Library of Congress.
33.	1787, Mar. 31–Oct. 27.	Journey to Philadelphia (Constitutional Convention). Original in the Library of Congress.
34.	1787, May 11–Nov. 15.	(Rough diary from which Nos. 33 and 35 were afterwards copied out.) Original in the Library of Congress.
35.	1787, Oct. 28–1788, Apr. 17.	Original in the Library of Congress.
36.	1788, Apr. 18–July 31.	Original in the Library of Congress.
37.	1788, Aug. 1–1789, Feb. 2.	Original in the Library of Congress.
38.	1789, Feb. 3–Sep. 30.	Missing. (Entry for April 16 of this diary was quoted by Jared Sparks in 1837.)
39.	1789, Oct. 1–1790, Mar. 10.	Journey to New England and tour of Long Island. Original in the Detroit Public Library, Michigan.
40.	1790, Mar. 11–July 14.	Missing.
41.	1790, July 15–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
42.	1791, Jan. 1–Mar. 20.	Missing, or not kept.
43.	1791, Mar. 21–June 1.	Southern tour. Missing.
44.	1791, June 2–July 4.	Southern tour. Original in the Library of Congress.
45.	1791, July 5–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
46.	1792.	Missing, or not kept.
47.	1793.	Missing, or not kept.
48.	1794, Jan. 1–Sep. 29.	Missing, or not kept.
49.	1794, Sep. 30–Oct. 20.	The Whiskey Insurrection Original in the Library of Congress.
50.	1794, Oct. 21–Dec. 31.	Missing, or not kept.
51.	1795, Jan. 1–Apr. 13.	Missing, or not kept.
52.	1795, Apr. 14–Dec. 21.	In the 'American Repository of Useful Information' containing a Calendar of the present year. Phila. Original in the possession (1921) of Charles Moran, Jr., New York.
53.	1795, Dec. 22–31.	Missing.
54.	1796.	Missing.

REGENTS' NUMBER		
55.	1797, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	In the 'American Repository.' Original in the possession (1924) of John Gribbel, Philadelphia.
56.	1798, Jan. 1–Dec. 31.	In 'Brigg's Virginia and Maryland Almanac; or Washington Ephemeris for the year of our Lord 1798. Alexa.' Original in the possession (1921) of Charles Moran, Jr., New York.
	1799, Jan. 1–21.	Journey to Philadelphia. Missing.
	1799, Jan. 22–Feb. 9.	Original (a few leaves only) in the Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
57.	1799, Feb. 10–Dec. 13.	Original in the Library of Congress.

(This entry for Dec. 13 is the last diary entry made by Washington and are, more than probably, the last words written by him.)

1748

March 11–April 13

'A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains began Fryday the 11th of March 1747/8'

Original in Library of Congress

This is Washington's earliest known diary: it records his adventures on his first journey beyond the Blue Ridge at the age of sixteen.

Lord Fairfax had arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1747 with the intention of spending the remainder of his life on his Northern Neck proprietary. He went to stay with his cousin and agent, William Fairfax, at Belvoir on the Potomac, the neck of land lying immediately below Mount Vernon. Lawrence Washington had married William Fairfax's eldest daughter, Ann, in August, 1743, and in the resulting intimacy between Belvoir and Mount Vernon, Lawrence's young brother George was included. It was thus that George met Lord Fairfax at Belvoir in the summer of 1747 and was promised employment as a surveyor on the manors Lord Fairfax was planning to lay out beyond the Blue Ridge. It was on that duty that Washington set out in the spring of 1748.

His companion was George William Fairfax, eldest son of the Belvoir household, who was eight years Washington's senior and with whom thenceforth Washington maintained an uninterrupted friendship for nearly forty years. George William Fairfax had come to Virginia in the spring of 1746, after being educated in England, to take over his father's agency of the Northern Neck. Before setting out on this journey to initiate the young Washington into wilderness life, he had himself had a considerable experience in such adventures: he was one of the party engaged in the arduous survey of the Northern Neck back line in the summer of 1746, when he had carved his initials in a tree at the head spring of Potomac; and throughout 1747 had been engaged in similar work in the Shenandoah Valley. It was only a few months after this journey with Washington that he was married, at Williamsburg, while serving in the Assembly as the representative of that frontier community (Frederick), whither we here see him again bound.

The now meaningless survey measurements (*see* entry for April 4) are purposely omitted, but every name mentioned in the diary itself is included in the text given herewith.

THE DIARIES OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON

1748

MARCH

Fryday March 11th 1747/8.[1] Began my Journey in Company with George Fairfax,[2] Esqr., we travell'd this day 40 Miles [3] to Mr. George Neavels [4] in Prince William County

[1] Double date is due to the fact that England did not adopt the Gregorian Calendar, as did the Continent of Europe (Russia excepted) until 1752. The proper year date for this diary is 1748.

[2] George William Fairfax (1725–87) was the eldest son of the Honorable William Fairfax and his second wife Sarah Walker. He was born at Providence, Bahama Islands, January 2, 1724/5, and took up his permanent residence in America in 1746, at his father's estate, 'Belvoir.' Lord Fairfax, whom George William had visited at Leeds Castle, was favorably impressed, and to this visit seems to have been due the later appointment as proprietary agent for Lord Fairfax in America. George William became a Burgess for Frederick County, 1748/9, and married Sarah, eldest daughter of Colonel Wilson Cary, in December, 1748, who became, on the death of her father-in-law's third wife, Deborah Clarke, the mistress of 'Belvoir.' George William was again a burgess in 1752–55 for Frederick and in 1756–58 for Fairfax. He was colonel of Frederick militia in 1755–56 and seems to have been Collector of Royal Customs for the Eastern Shore before he was appointed to that office for the South Potomac. He became a member of the Council in 1767 and served as such until 1773, when he was called to England to look after the affairs of Towlston Manor, in Yorkshire, to which he had succeeded under a family entail. He inherited 'Belvoir' from his father and Shannondale, in Frederick and Piedmont, in Loudoun; but his affairs in England prevented his return to Virginia until the Revolutionary War cut off all opportunity of maintaining his Virginia relations. He was sympathetic toward the Colonial cause, and there are grounds for belief that, had he been in America at the time, he would have aligned himself with the Colonists. He died at Bath, England, April 3, 1787.

[3] They had set out from Belvoir, crossed the Occoquan Ferry, and struck into the old road leading from the head of Quantico to the Prince William Court-House of the day on Cedar Run; whence they pushed on west to George Neavil's Ordinary.

[4] George Neavil, whose will was proved in Fauquier in 1774, lived and kept an

Saturday March 12*th* This Morning Mr. James Genn [1] ye. surveyer came to us we travell'd over ye. Blue Ridge [2] to Capt. Ashbys [3] on Shannondoah River, Nothing remarkable happen'd

Sunday March 13 Rode to his Lordships Quarter [4] about 4 Miles higher up y. River we went through most beautiful Groves of Sugar Trees and spent ye. best part of y. Day in admiring ye. Trees and richness of ye Land

ordinary at the junction of two important north and south interior highways, namely: (1) that which Washington was about to follow leading north from the falls of the Rappahannock at Falmouth, through the thoroughfare of Cedar Run to Ashby's Gap of the Blue Ridge, and (2) the older Indian trail originally known as the 'Shenandoah Hunting Path' and later as the 'Carolina road,' which led south from Williams Gap of the Blue Ridge, skirted the Bull Run Mountain on the east, and at Neavil's turned west to cross the Rappahannock at Norman's Ford above the great fork. Both these roads had been avenues by which, during the fifteen years prior to Washington's journey, pioneers had migrated from the tidewater to settle the upper Piedmont. Until 1759 this tavern was in Prince William. It was mentioned by Archdeacon Burnaby as well as by other literary eighteenth-century travelers in Virginia; and still stands in the village of Auburn in Fauquier County.

(For an elucidation of the confusion, by some of the commentators on this diary, of Neavil's and West's Ordinaries, and authority for the location of both, based upon local records, see *Fauquier Historical Society Bulletin*, 1, 66.)

[1] James Genn was, in 1748, the county surveyor of Prince William County, who lived on the Falmouth road some distance south of Neavil's. It was the rendezvous with him which determined the route via Neavil's. Genn was an experienced wilderness surveyor. In 1746 he had been engaged in the work of running the Northern Neck back line from the head spring of Conway (Rapidan) in the Blue Ridge to the head spring of Potomac in the Alleghanies, and in 1747 he had surveyed Lord Fairfax's South Branch and Greenway Court Manors. It was to subdivide the former into lots to be leased to tenants that the present expedition was on foot.

[2] They followed the trail through what became Fauquier, over the route subsequently adopted for the 'Winchester road,' and crossed the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Bent. This route was subsequently laid down by Dalrymple on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map.

[3] This was Captain John Ashby, who kept the original Shenandoah Ferry where the Winchester road still crosses that river. He was the eldest son of Thomas Ashby, for whom 'Ashby's Bent' of the Blue Ridge was named.

[4] This was the future 'Greenway Court,' where Lord Fairfax was to establish his residence a year after Washington's journey. It had been laid out as a 'quarter' in the summer of 1747.

Monday 14th We sent our Baggage to Capt. Hites [1] (near Frederick Town [2]) went ourselves down ye River about 16 Miles to Capt. Isaac Penningtons (the Land exceeding Rich and Fertile all ye. way produces abundance of Grain Hemp Tobacco &ca.) in order to lay of some Lands on Cates Marsh and Long Marsh [3]

Tuesday 15th We set out early with Intent to Run round ye sd. Land but being taken in a Rain and it Increasing very fast obliged us to return it clearing about one oClock and our time being too Precious to Loose we a second time ventur'd out and Worked hard till Night and then return'd to Penningtons we got our Supper and was lighted into a Room and I not being so good a Woodsman as ye rest of my Company striped myself very orderly and went in to ye Bed as they called it when to my Surprize I found it to be nothing but a Little Straw-Matted together without Sheets or any thing else but only one thread Bear blanket with double its Weight of Vermin such as Lice Fleas &c I was glad to get up (as soon as y. Light was carried from us) I put on my Cloths and Lay as my Companions. Had we not been very tired I am sure we should not have slep'd much that night I made a Promise not to Sleep so from that time forward chusing rather to sleep in y. open Air before a fire as will appear hereafter.

March y. 15th. Survey'd for George Fairfax Esqr. a Tract of Land lying on Cates Marsh and Long Marsh. . . . . [4]

[1] Jost Hite disputed the claim of Lord Fairfax to certain lands in the so-called Northern Neck of Virginia.

[2] Frederick Town, the same as Winchester.

[3] Cate's and Long Marsh are formed by small streams which flow from the foothills of North Mountain to the Shenandoah. Long Marsh is named on several maps. (*Toner.*)

[4] George William Fairfax. The surveyor's notes of the measurement of this land are omitted. Henry Ashby and Robert Taylor are given as chainmen, Robert Ashby as marker and William Lindsy as pilot.

Wednesday 16th We set out early and finish'd about one oClock and then Travell'd up to Frederick Town where our Baggage came to us we cleaned ourselves (to get Rid of y. Game we had catched y. Night before) and took a Review of y. Town and thence return'd to our Lodgings where we had a good Dinner prepar'd for us Wine and Rum Punch in Plenty and a good Feather Bed with clean Sheets which was a very agreeable regale

Thursday 17th Rain'd till Ten oClock and then clearing we reached as far as Major Campbells[1] one of there Burgesses about 25 Miles from Town nothing Remarkable this day nor Night but that we had a Tolerable good Bed [to] lay on.

Fryday 18th We Travell'd up about 35 Miles to Thomas Barwicks[2] on Potomack where we found y. River so excessively high by Reason of y. Great Rains that had fallen up about y. Allegany Mountains as they told us which was then bringing down y. melted Snow and that it would not be fordable for severall Days it was then above Six foot Higher than usual and was rising we agreed to stay till Monday we this day call'd to see y. Fam'd Warm Springs[3] we camped out in y. field this Night Nothing Remarkable happen'd till Sonday y. 20th.

Sonday 20th finding y. River not much abated we in y. Evening Swam our horses over and carried them to Charles Polks in Maryland for Pasturage till y. next Morning

Monday 21st We went over in a Canoe and travell'd up

[1] Major Andrew Campbell; his last service as Burgess from Frederick County had been in 1745.

[2] Berwick's or Barwick's, above Harper's Ferry.

[3] Warm Springs, now Bath or Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, West Virginia.

Maryland side all y. Day in a Continued Rain to Collo Cresaps [1] right against y. Mouth of y. South Branch about 40 Miles from Polks I believe y. worst Road that ever was trod by Man or Beast

Tuesday 22*d* Continued Rain and y. Freshes kept us at Cresaps.

Wednesday 23*d* Rain'd till about two oClock and Clear'd when we were agreeably surpris'd at y. sight of thirty odd Indians coming from War with only one Scalp We had some Liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating there Spirits put them in y. Humour of Dauncing of whom we had a War Daunce there manner of Dauncing is as follows Viz They clear a Large Circle and make a Great Fire in y. middle then seats themselves around it y. Speaker makes a grand speech telling them in what Manner they are to Daunce after he has finished y. best Dauncer jumps up as one awaked out of a Sleep and runs and Jumps about y. Ring in a most comical Manner he is followed by y. Rest then begins there Musicians to Play ye. Musick is a Pot half [full] of Water with a Deerskin Streched over it as tight as it can and a goard with some Shott in it to Rattle and a Piece of an horses Tail tied to it to make it look fine y. one keeps Rattling and y. other Drumming all y. while y. others is Dauncing

Fryday 25*th* Nothing Remarkable on thursday but only being with y. Indians all day so shall slip it this day left Cresaps and went up to y. mouth of Patersons Creek and there swam our Horses over got over ourselves in a Canoe and traveld up y. following Part of y. Day to

[1] Colonel Thomas Cresap, one of the famous American frontiersmen. Finally settled at what came to be known as 'Old Town,' on the Maryland side of the Potomac just above the junction of the North and South Branch.

Abram Johnstones 15 Miles from ye Mouth where we camped

Saturday 26 Travelld up ye Creek to Solomon Hedges Esqr one of his Majestys Justices of ye. Peace for ye County of Frederick where we camped when we came to Supper there was neither a Cloth upon ye. Table nor a knife to eat with but as good luck would have it we had knives of [our] own.

Sunday 27*th* Travell'd over to y. South Branch attended with y. Esqr[1] to Henry Vanmetriss[2] in order to go about Intended Work of Lots

Monday 28*th* Travell'd up y Branch about 30 Miles to Mr. James Rutlidges Horse Jockey and about 70 Miles from ye Mouth

Tuesday 29*th* This Morning went out and Survey'd five Hundred Acres of Land and went down to one Michael Stumps on ye. So Fork of ye. Branch on our way Shot two Wild Turkies.

March 29*th*. Survey'd for Mr. James Rutlidge ye following a piece of Land. . . . .[3]

Wednesday 30*th* This Morning began our Intended Business of Laying of Lots we began at ye. Boundary Line of ye Northern 10 Miles above Stumps and run of two Lots and returned to Stumps The Courses and Distances of ye. Several Lots lay'd of on ye So Fork of Wappacomo[4] Began March 30th 1748 Lot ye 1st. Peter Reeds. . . . . .[5]

[1] Solomon Hedges. [2] Henry Van Metre or Meter. (*Toner.*)

[3] The surveyor's notes are here omitted. Henry Ashby and Richard Taylor are given as chainmen and William Duncan as marker.

[4] Wappacomo, the Indian name for the South Branch of the Potomac River. (*Toner.*)

[5] Surveyor's notes omitted.

Thursday 31*st* Early this Morning one of our Men went out with ye. Gun and soon Returned with two Wild Turkies we then went to our Business run of three Lots and returned to our Camping place at Stumps

March 31*st* . . . . . Lot 4th. this Lot survey'd myself Beginning at a Pine by a Rock. . . . .[1]

APRIL

Fryday April ye 1*st* This Morning Shot twice at Wild Turkies but kill'd none run of three Lots and returned to Camp

Saterday 2*d* Last Night was a blowing and Rainy night Our Straw catch'd a Fire yt. we were laying upon and was luckily Preserv'd by one of our Mens awaking when it was in a [blaze] we run of four Lots this Day which Reached below Stumps. . . . Lot 10th. Michael Calb Liveron. . . . Lot ye 11th. Leonard Nave. . . . Lot 12th Michael Stumps. . . . .[2]

Sunday 3*d* Last Night was a much more blostering night than ye. former we had our Tent Carried Quite of with ye. Wind and was obliged to Lie ye. Latter part of ye. night without covering there came several Persons to see us this day one of our Men Shot a Wild Turkie

Monday 4*th* this morning Mr. Fairfax left us with Intent to go down to ye. Mouth of ye Branch we did two Lots and was attended by a great Company of People Men Women and Children that attended us through ye. Woods as we went showing there Antick tricks I really think they seemed to be as Ignorant a Set of People as the

[1] Surveyor's notes omitted. [2] Surveyor's notes omitted.

Indians they would never speak English but when spoken to they speak all Dutch[1] this day our Tent was blown down by ye. Violentness of ye. Wind

[*Monday*] *4th* . . . . . Lot 14th James Simsons. . . . . No. 17 Wt 66 po N 6 Et 42 po opposite to Henry Harris's house No 26 Wt 20 po West 32 op Phillip Moors house bears No 86 Wt No 23 Wt 48 po to a Blazed Tree. . . . .[2]

Tuesday 5th We went out and did 4 Lots we were attended by ye. same Company of People yt. we had ye. day before

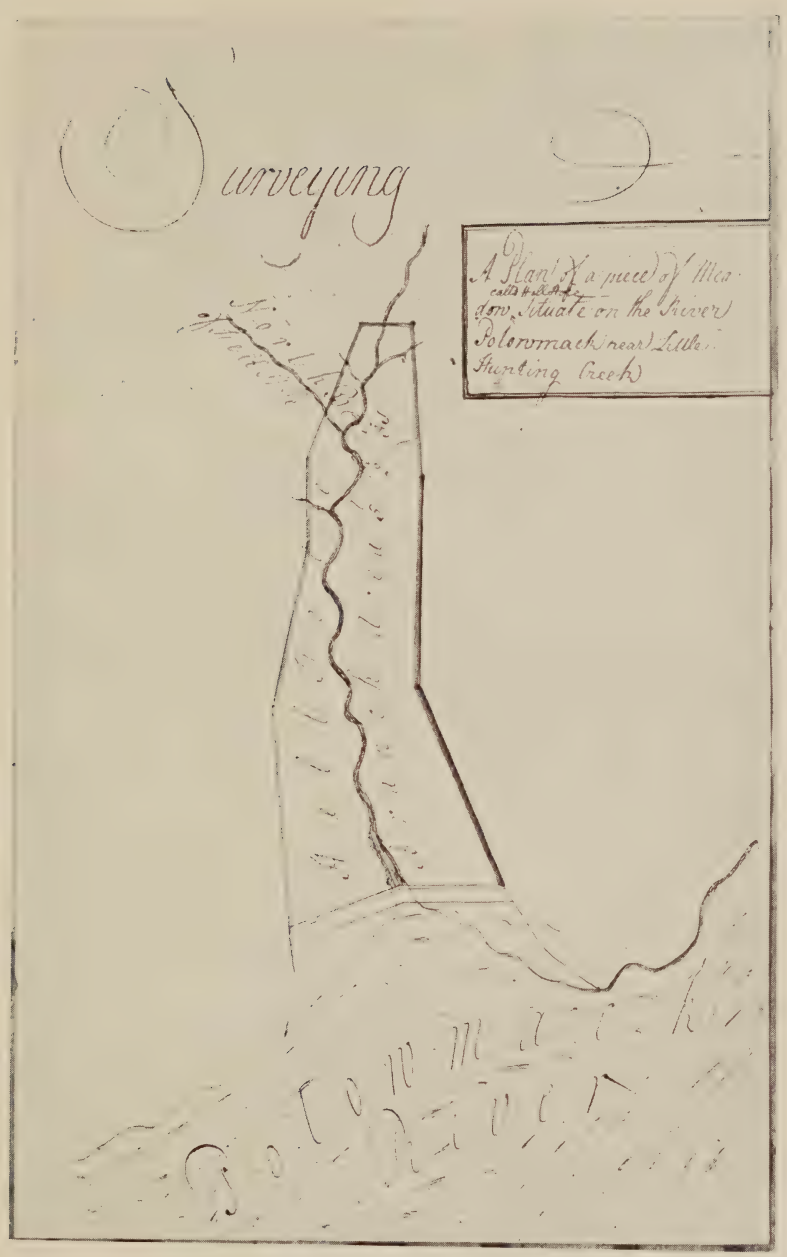
April ye 5th. Lot ye 15th. Phillip Moore. . . . . Lots ye 16th and 17th. Widow Wolfs and Henry Sheplars, a Blacksmith by trade. . . . . Lot 18th. Jeremiah Osborne's. . . . .[3]

Wednesday 6th Last Night was so Intolerable smoky that we were obliged all hands to leave ye Tent to ye. Mercy of ye Wind and Fire this day was attended by our afored Company untill about 12 oClock when we finish'd we travell'd down ye Branch to Henry Vanmetris's on our Journey was catched in a very heavy Rain we got under a Straw House untill ye Worst of it was over and then continued our Journey

[1] German emigrants who had come down the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania.

[2] 'Blazing' was the practice of marking trees with knife or hatchet by stripping off a long section of bark, ten inches or more, in length. A 'blazed trail' was a way through the woods, where no trace of path existed, the traveler finding his way from one scarred tree to another. Properly 'blazed,' the next cut ahead can be seen from each tree. An experienced woodsman can follow a 'blazed trail' made several years before. The surveyor's notes are omitted; enough of them are here given to show their now meaningless character.

[3] Surveyor's notes omitted.



YOUTHFUL SURVEY OF HELL HOLE ON THE MOUNT VERNON TRACT

Sunday 10*th* We took our farewell of ye. Branch and travell'd over Hills and Mountains to 1 Coddys on Great Cacapehon about 40 Miles

Monday 11*th* We Travell'd from Coddys down to Frederick Town where we Reached about 12 oClock we dined in Town and then went to Capt. Hites and Lodged

Tuesday 12*th* We set of from Capt. Hites in order to go over Wms. Gap about 20 Miles and after Riding about 20 Miles we had 20 to go for we had lost ourselves and got up as High as Ashbys Bent we did get over Wms. Gap that Night [1] and as low as Wm. Wests [2] in Fairfax County 18 Miles from ye Top of ye. Ridge This day [we] see a Rattled Snake ye first we had seen in all our Journey.

Wednesday ye. 13*th of April* 1748 Mr Fairfax got safe home and I myself safe to my Brothers [3] which concludes my Journal.

[1] Crossing the Blue Ridge at Williams (now Snickers') Gap, they followed the Shenandoah Hunting Path south to West's Ordinary at the head of the Bull Run Mountain, thence they struck southeast by a forest trail which ultimately became the Colchester road, and so reached Belvoir and Mount Vernon. As his diaries show, Washington was to pursue that same route many times in the future.

[2] West's Ordinary, kept successively for three generations by William, Charles, and Thomas West, and after the Revolution known as 'Lacy's,' is a landmark still standing at the head of the Bull Run Mountain near the modern village of Aldie, in what was Fairfax County in 1748, but ten years later became Loudoun. It is indicated by name on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map, as well as on Thomas Jefferson's map of 1787. Many other travelers beside Washington have recorded their visits there.

[3] Lawrence Washington's; Mount Vernon on the Potomac.

1748

April 14–December 31

1749–1750

1751

January 1–October 3

Diaries not kept, or missing

It is more than probable that diaries for the above period were not kept by Washington; numbers therefor are not assigned.

1751–1752

October 4–March 4

[The Journey to Barbadoes]

Original in Library of Congress.

The Journal kept by Washington in 1751–52 when he escorted his half-brother, Lawrence, to the island of Barbadoes is the worst mutilated of all the surviving originals. Whole pages are missing, and, in many cases, what remains of a page is a mere sliver or scrap containing but a few letters or parts of words only. What follows is that portion that makes sense and conveys information. Dots . . . show the omitted portions which in every case are nothing but unrelated words or parts of sentences.

Major Lawrence Washington traveled to Barbadoes thinking it would benefit his health. He suffered from tuberculosis. George and Lawrence set out in a vessel from the Potomac River, September 28, 1751, and landed at Bridgetown, Barbadoes, November 3d. The first unmutilated entry in this Journal is on what is now page 10 of the original manuscript, the entry for Friday, October 4, 1751.

1751

OCTOBER

4th. This Twenty four hours clear Weather and Little Wind with great Sea from the No. Ward. Do. Weather and Clear.[1] discovered a Sail bearing W.S.W. — distance 2 Leagues. She appears to be a sloop stang. to ye Et. W.

5th. These 24 hours had Moderate Winds from the No with Smooth Sea and clear weather, made all the Sail we coud — Righted all the Riggan.[2]

6th. This Day for the first part little Winds, Fair Weather and smooth Sea — Catched a Dolphin at 8 P.M, a Shark at 11 and a one of his pilot fish; the Dolphin and pilot fish was dressed for Dinner. Sprung up a little breeze of Wind at W.S.W. which Waver'd to and from the No.

7th. But Little Wind at S.W. and So. with calm smooth Sea and fair Weather. Saw many fish swimming abt. us of which a Dolphin we catchd. at Noon but cou'd not intice with a baited hook two Baricootas[3] which played under our Stern for some Hours; the Dolphin being small we had it dressed for Supper

8th. Small Wind at S.W. with Smooth Sea and fair

[1] Washington ruled his paper for this Journal in the usual logbook form and entered therein the hours, speed, course of the ship and direction of the wind, in regular logbook form. These mathematical records are omitted as being difficult to reproduce in type and of no value to the diary record. Jared Sparks has written, in ink, on this page of the diary: 'I suppose this to be a fragment of a journal at sea by General Washington during his voyage to Bermu Barbadoes da with his brother. J. S.'

[2] That is, took up all the slack or tautened all ropes of the standing rigging.

[3] Barracuda, or tiger fish. It is found only in warm waters, varies in size, and will unhesitatingly attack human beings.

Weather; was attended by a large Dolphin swimg. around ye ship that wou'd not be insnar'd by any bait we cou'd lay.

9*th.* Fine clear Weather with moderate Gales of Wind and smooth Sea for the first part; the latter was favour'd with a brisker Wind.

10*th.* Clear Weather Moderate Breese and Smooth Sea.

11*th.* Light Breese of Wind for the first part which died away. Espyed a Sail at 3 P.M. to the S W.

12*th.* Fresh gales of Wind at S.S.E. and wavering with clear and pleasant Weather — saw the sale mention'd the preceding day. Handed the Sprit Sail and flying Jib —

13*th.* Light and variable Winds have attended this Day with hazey Weather and some Squals of small Rain — R.F.S.[1] at 10 P.M. —

14*th.* Light and variable Winds for the 1st part, ye Latter Calm with a great Swell from ye Southward. Saw a Sail at 9 pm; at 4 — discover'd her to be a Brigantine standg. to the Westward.

15*th.* Fresh and Wavering Gales with contending Seas from Southward and No. Ward.

16*th.* The first part fresh and waverings Winds with some Squals of Rain, the latter Strong Wind with hard Squals which turn'd to a heavy settled Rain. at 8 P.M. O M T S; at A.M. 6, R T S; at 10 D R T S; at 11 H F S[2]

[1] Reefed the foresail.

[2] O[verhauled?] M[ain] T[op] S[ail]; R[eefed] T[op] S[ail]; D[ouble] R[eefed] T[op] S[ail]; H[auled] F[ore] S[ail].

17*th*. Hard gales of Wind and Rain 'till 4 P.M; wh[en] the Wind got to the Westward and moderated. 12 was calm with a disturb'd and large Sea which iminently endanger'd our masts roling away 'till reliev'd by a small No. Wt. breese. at 2 A.M. we crowded all the Sail we cou'd to steady her going which scarcely had the desir'd effect: Discover'd a Sail standing to the No. Ward of us at 10 a:m

18*th*. A Large Sea and some Squals of Rain and fresh Breeze 'till 2 am the wind died away and rem'd calm untill 9 with Settled Rain — when a N Et. Storm and Squals of Rain succeded the Rain with intermission the wind without .....

19*th*. Hard Squals of Wind and Rain with a f.....-mented Sea jostling in heaps occasion[ed] by Wavering wind which in 24 hours Veer'd; the Compass not remaining 2 hours in any point. The Seamen seemed disheartned confessing they never had seen such weather before. It was universally surmis'd their had been a violent hurricane not far distant. A prodigy in ye West appear'd towards ye suns setting abt. 6 P.M., remarkable for its extraordinary redness.

20*th*. A Constant succession of hard Winds, Squals of Rain, and Calms was the remarkable attendants of this day which was so sudden and flighty we durst not go under any but reef'd Sails and those that we cou'd D R [1] At 6 A M put abt. to the Eastward A sloop that for the two preceding Days was [in] sight of us hung out a Signal but wheth[er] distress or not we are uncertain; if it had [been we] were incapable of relieving them by ye contrs. of [the wind?]

[1] Double reef.

21*st.* This Day was not much inferior to the foregoing only the Wind was not quite so [vary]ing, tho' hard with some Squals of Rain [which] oblig'd us to lay too at 8 A.M. At 6 P M made Sail with the wind at S W and moderate undrs. R M: F S and D R F S[1]

22*d.* Light and Wavering Winds with a large tumbling Sea running many ways by the Various winds we have lately had; all hands were busily employ'd in refitting the Riggan which had suffer'd much in the preceding Storms,

23*d.* Calm 'till 8 A M with a considerable Sw[ell] The wind freshen'd up at East with fine and regaling Weather Sun'd over Bre[ad] which was almost Eaten up by Weavel and Maggots.

22*d.* Fresh Breeses of Wind at S S E and wavering to the So ward with pleasant Weathr and Smooth Sea at 8 A:M made a tack to the Eastward —

25*th.* Moderate but contrary Winds fro S S Wt to S S Et at 9 P:M: Struck two Dalphins one of which was lost at . . . . . grew hazey and thick: with some Squals of Rain from So Et: Dalphin dressed for Dinner —

26*th.* Hazey with contrary Winds and smooth Sea —

27*th.* Light Winds and wavering from S . . . . . till 8 p:M: when it shifted to No W. died away with Rains succeeding

28*th.* Fresh gale of Wind at E N E came on at Noon with hazey Weather and some Rain; it shifted to the Eastward and moderated: at 6 A:M: saw a Sail to the Eastward

[1] Reefed mainsail, foresail and double reefed foresail.

bearing our course, made her to be a sloop: Unbent mended and set the Main topsail

2[*9th*]. Wavering but pleasant gales o . . . . . with Fair fair open weather: the a Sloop kept to windward bear . . . . her former course

[30*th*] This Morning arose with agreeably assurances of a certain and steady trade Wind which after near five Weeks buffiting and being toss'd by a fickle and Merciless ocean was glad'ening knews: the preceeding night we seperated from sloop abe mentioned

[31*st*] Regaling and Gentle Gales . . . Eastward, with hazey weather and Rain: the latter part clear and pleas . . . . Weather

NOVEMBER

[1*st*.] Fine pleasant breezes with Fair Weather and smooth Sea, at 11 A:M Espy'd two ships bearing West which we conjectur'd to be Frenchmen bound for Martineca[1] they being in the Latitude thereof

[2*d*.] We were grea . . . . . larm'd with the cry of Land at 4 A:M: we quitted our beds with surprise and found ye land plainly appearing at [a]bout 3 leauges distance when by our reckonings we shou'd have been near 150 Leauges to the Windward we to Leeward abt ye distance above mention'd and had we been but 3 or 4 leauges more we shou'd have been out of sight of the Island run down the Latitude and probably not have discover'd [the] Error in time to have gain'd [the] land for 3 Weeks or More

[1] Martinique, French West Indies.

[*4th.*[1] Early this morning came Dr. Hilary,[2] an eminent physician recommended by Major Clarke,[3] to pass his opinion on my brother's disorder,[4] which he did in a favorable light, giving great assurance, that it was not so fixed but that a cure might be effectually made. In the cool of the evening we rode out accompanied by Mr. Carter[5] to seek lodgings in the country, as the Doctor advised,] and was perfectly rav . . . . . the beautiful prospects which on every side presented to our view The fields of Cain, Corn, Fruit Trees, &c in a delightful Green. We return'd without accomplishing our intentions.

6th. At Mr. Carter's employing ourselves in Writg Letters, to be carried by the Chooner Fredericksburg;[6] Captn

[1] At this point an entire leaf is missing from the original. This missing leaf seems to have existed in 1834 as Jared Sparks, in his *Writings of George Washington* (Boston: 1834, vol. 2, p. 424), gives an entry for November 4th. The facts, as Sparks states them, are, doubtless, correct; but his well-known method of taking liberties with Washington's composition, of which his copy of the entry for November 5th and following days furnishes a good example, operates against the inclusion of the November 4th entry in this text. The portion included within brackets [ ] is taken from Toner's copy of the diary. It should be stated, however, that, according to the Sparks copy, George and Lawrence were welcomed by Major Gedney Clarke, who invited the brothers to breakfast and dinner. They went, George 'with some reluctance, as the smallpox was in his [Clarke's] family.' George afterwards visited the Clarkes several times and finally contracted the disease. It left the usual facial blemishes upon him, but the exact extent to which the marks were noticeable does not seem to be a matter of positive record.

[2] Dr. William Hillary. (*Toner.*)

[3] This must have been Gedney Clarke (1711–c. 1764) of the Salem family (see Fitzgilbert Waters in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 1879, xvi, 24), who at the time of the Journal of 1751–52 was living as a merchant in Barbadoes, where he was a member of the Council. He was a brother of William Fairfax's third wife, and had been in Virginia on visits, certainly in 1741 and perhaps in 1743, when Lawrence Washington was married. It would be most natural that Lawrence should have carried a letter of introduction to him, if indeed they had not already met in Virginia.

[4] Lawrence Washington, half-brother to George and fourteen years older. He married Ann Fairfax, eldest daughter of William Fairfax, of 'Belvoir.' His illness was tubercular. From him Mount Vernon descended to George.

[5] James Carter, a member of the Barbadoes Council. (*Toner.*)

[6] Toner thinks the same schooner on which the Washingtons came from Virginia.

Robinson to Virginia. Receiv'd a Card from Majr. Clarke wherein our companys were desir'd to Dinner to morrow and myself an invitation from Mrs. Clarke and Miss Robts.[1] to come and see the serpts fir'd[2] being gunpd. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Church [sic].

7*th*. Dined at Majr. Clarkes; and by him was introduced to the Surveyor Genl.[3] and Judges Finley and Hacket[4] who likewise din'd there; in the Evening they complaisantly accompanied us in another excursion in the Country to choose such lodgings as most suited; we pitched on the house of Captn. Croftan commander of James Fort; he was desir'd to come to Town[5] next day to propose his terms. We return'd by way of Needham's fort and was introduced to ye Captn. thereof, a Genteel pretty ..... man. Sup'd and spent the Evening at Majr. Clarke['s] with the Gentlemen before mentioned.

8*th*. Came Captn. Croften with his proposals which tho extravagently dear my Brother was oblig'd to give.[6] £15 pr. Month is his charge exclusive of Liquors and washing which we find. in the Evening we remov'd some of our things up and ourselves its very pleasantly situated pretty ..... the Sea and abt. a Mile from Town the prospect is extensive and by Land and pleasant by Sea as we command the prospect of Carlyle Bay and all the shipping in such manner that none can go in or out without being open to our view.

[1] Miss Roberts, niece of Mrs. Clarke.

[2] Celebration of the discovery of the so-called 'Gun-powder Plot' in England. The 'serpents' were home-made squibs, a primitive sort of fireworks.

[3] Sir William Patterson. (*Toner.*)

[4] Judge Nathaniel Haggett. (*Toner.*)

[5] Bridgetown, on north side of Carlisle Bay, which is on the west coast of Barbadoes.

[6] The Craftan or Croftan House is said to be still standing.

9*th.* We receiv'd a card from Majr. Clarke inviting us to dine with him at Judge Maynards [1] on the Morrow he had a right to ask being a Member of the Club call'd the Beefstake and tripe instituted by himself. . . . . .

[10*th.*] the Judges Maynard [2] . . . . . Robt. Warren Esqr. and Captn. Pe[trie] [3] (the Commander of Needhams Fort) We were Genteely receiv'd by Judge Satuo Maynard and Lady and agreeably entertain'd by the Company they have a meeting every saturday this being Colo. Maynards. . . . After Dinner was the greatest Collection of Fruits I have yet seen on the Table there was Granadella the Sappadilla Pomgranate Sweet Orange Water Lemmon forbidden Fruit apples Guavas &ca. &ca. &ca. We receiv'd invitations from every Gentleman there and one . . . . . [Jud]ge Jenkins who also . . . . . there tho not one of their Membrs. Mr. Warren desir'd Majr. Clarke to shew us the way to his house; Mr. Hackt. insisted on our coming Saturday next to his being his Day to treat with Beef Stake and tripe but above all the invitation of Mr. Maynard [4] was the most kind and friendly he desir'd and even insisted as well as his Lady on our coming to spend some Weeks with him and promis'd nothing should be wanting to render our stay agreeable my Br. promis'd he wou'd as soon as he was a Little disengag'd from the Drs. We return'd and by was invited to Dine at Major] Clarke's the next Day by himself.

11*th.* Dressed in order for Church but got to town two Late dined at Majr. Clarkes with ye S: G: went to Evening Service and return'd to our Lodgings.

[1] Judge Satus Maynard. (*Toner.*)
[2] Judges Satus and William Maynard. (*Toner.*)
[3] Captain George John Petrie. (*Toner.*)
[4] The Honorable William Maynard; he was also a judge, and as a member of the Council of Barbadoes had the complimentary title of Colonel.

12*th.* receiv'd an afternoon Visit from Captn. Petrie and an invitation to dine with him the next Day.

13*th.* Dined at the Fort with some Ladys its pretty strongly fortifyed and mounts about 36 Gunes within the fortifin. but 2 facine Batterys mg. 51

14*th.* At our Lodgings.

15*th.* Was treated with a play ticket by Mr. Carter to see the Tragedy of George Barnwell acted: the character of Barnwell and several others was said to be well perform'd there was Musick a Dapted and regularly conducted by Mr.

16*th.* Mr. Graeme la . . . . . of the Master's of the College of Virginia paid us a Mornings Visit and invited us to dine with Judge Graeme [1] his Br. on Sunday: din'd this Day at Majr. Clarke's.

17*th.* Was strongly attacked with the small Pox: sent for Dr. Lanahan whose attendance was very constant till my recovery, and going out which was not 'till thursday the 12th of December.

DECEMBER

12*th.* Went to Town visited Majr. Clarke's Family (who kindly visited me in my illness and contributed all they cou'd in sendg. me the necessary's required in ye disorder) and dined with Majr. Gaskens a half Br. to Mrs. Clarke: On Munday last began the Grand sessions and this Day brought on the Tryal of Colo. Chaunack [2] a Man of

[1] Judge George Graeme. (*Toner.*)

[2] Toner notes the name as Charnock, but states that no record of this case is found on the Island.

oppulent fortune and infamous Character he was dicted for commiting a Rape on his servant Maid and was brought in Guiltless and sav'd by one single Evidence on .... was generally reckone[d] suborn'd.

13*th*. Spent at our Lodgings.

14*th*. My Br. dined at Needham's myself at Maj. Clarkes.

15*th*. Dined with Judge Graeme after returning from Christ Church.

16*th*. Dined at Needham Fort with Captn. Petrie.

17*th*. Dined at Majr. Clarke with comodore Hobourn[1] Governr. Pursel, Gr. of Totola[2] General Barrack and many others.

18*th*. Dined with Messrs. Stephenson's Merchts.

19*th*. Provided my Sea Store and dined with Mr. Carter.

20*th*. Got my Clothes Store &c on board the Industry Captn. John Saunders for Virginia.

21*st*. At my Lodgings .... my Brother.

22*d*. Took my leave of my Br.[3] Majr. Clarke &ca. and

[1] Commodore Francis Hoburn; later he was one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

[2] Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands.

[3] Lawrence Washington's health did not improve and Bermuda was suggested as possessing certain climatic advantages. It was arranged that George should return to Virginia; that Lawrence should go to Bermuda, and, after a time, if his health improved, George would bring Mrs. Lawrence Washington out to him. The experiment failed, his health did not improve and George did not return to

Imbar[ked] in the Industry Captn. John Saund[ers] for Virginia wai'd anchor and got out of Carlile Bay abt. 12. The Governor of Barbados [1] seem[s] to keep a proper State: Lives very retired and at Little expence it is said he is a Gentleman of good Sence As he avoids the Errors of his predecessor he gives no handle for complaint but at the same time by declining much familiarty is not over zealously beloved and being deprived of power to . . . . . ours meet with . . . &ca. There is seve[ral] regular Risings in this Island one above another so that scarcely any part is deprived of a beautiful Prospect both of sea and Land what is contrary to the observation on other Countrys is that each Rising is better than the other below. There are many delicious Fruits in this but as they are particularly describ'd by the Revd. Mr. Hughs [2] in his Natural histy. of the Island shall say nothing further than that the Pine Apple China Orange is good the Avagado pair [3] is generally most admired tho none pleases my taste as do's the Pine. The Earth in most parts is extremely rich and as black as our richest Marsh M[ould? . . . .] common produce of ea . . . . Canes is from 40 to 70 pon of Sugar each pon valued at 20/ out of which a third is deducted for expences unless Rum sells for 2/ and upwards pr. Gallon then it is though the Sugar is near clear. There was many Acres last Year that turn'd out from 140 to 170 L as I was inform'd by credible authy. tho that was in Ginger and a very extraordinary year for the Sail thereof How wonderful that such people shou'd be in debt! and not be able to indulge themselves in all the Luxurys as well as necessarys of Life Yet so it happens Estates are often alienated for

Bermuda. Lawrence's strength gradually failed, and he returned to Virginia from Bermuda in 1752 and died at Mount Vernon on July 26th of that year. (*Toner.*)

[1] Henry Grenville was then Governor.

[2] Griffith Hughes' *Natural History of Barbadoes* (1750).

[3] Known to us as the alligator pear.

the debts indu . . . . ing an Interest of Eight . . . . . at Cancer in an Estate bought at full Value on Interest but how persons coming to Estates of two, three and four hundd. Acres (which are the largest) can want is most wonderful to me ⅓ of their Land or nearly genearlly is in Canes for Harvest the rest is in young Cane gunia Corn [1] (which greatly supports their Negros) Yams plantens Potatos and rice and some small part left waste for Stock. Their dung they are very careful in saving, and curious in makg. which they do by throughing up large heaps of Earth and a number of Stakes drove there in Sufficient for Sixteen head of Cattle to Stand seperately tied too which they are three months together tramplg. all the trash &ca. than . . . . and then its fit to manu . . . the Ground. Provisions in Genl. are very indeferent but much better than the same quantity of pasturage wou'd afford in Virginia. The very grass that grows amongst their corn is not Lost but carefully gather'd for provender for their Stoc[k]. Hospitality and a Genteel behav[ior] is shewn to every gentlemen stranger by the Gentlemen Inhab[itants. . . .] Taverns they have none but in their Towns so that Travellers is oblig'd to go to private houses however the Island being but abt. 22 Miles in length and 14 in width preven[ts] their being much infested with ym. The Ladys Generally are very agreeable but by ill custom or wt. . . . . affect the Negro Style . . . . . lithiness of this Island [is] sufficiently shuon in the florid countenances of the Country Gentlem. and its said they live to great ages where they are not intemperate they are however very unhappy in regard to there Officers Fees whch are not fixed by any Law they complain particularly of the Provost Marshall or Shiref Genl. of the Island Patented at Home and rented at 800£ pr. ann. Sterg. every other officer is exorbitant in demanding. There are few who may be calld midling people they

[1] Guinea corn.

are either very rich or very poor for by a Law of the Island Every Gentn. is oblig'd to keep a white person for ten Acres capable of acting in the Militia and consequently those persons so kept cant but [be] very poor. The Number of . . . . . Barbados is computed . . . Thousand (which is more th[an] is in Jamaica and all the other Leewar[d] Islands) they are well disciplin'd and appointed to their several Station[s] so that upon an allarm every Man is at his post in less than two Hou[rs]. They have large Intrenchments cast up where ever its possible for an Enemy to Land and may not (as nature has greatly assisted) improperly be said to be one intire fortification.

[2]3*d*. Met with a brisk Trade Wind and pretty large Swell wch made the Ship rowl much and me very sick. at 2 P:M: Espy'd a Sail In the Latitude of Martineca bearing down for the Island.

24*th*. A Fresh gale (or what in this part of the World is called a fiery Breeze) hurried us pass the Leeward Islands so the Captn. altered his course from No. to N W 61°.

25*th*. Christmas Day fine and clear and pleasant with moderate Sea tho continuance of the Trade which by observation had set us in the Latitude of 18° 30′ We dined on a . . . . . Irish goose which had be[en . . . . .] for the purpose some Weeks Beef &ca. &ca. and drank a health to our absent friends.

26*th*. Clear with little or no Wind or Sea which want of Air to paliate the heat of the Sun made us truely sensible of its influence very permament and troublesome. We had this Day for Dinner very fine Bristol Tripe with &ca.

27*th*. Moderate Winds and Sea

28*th*. Fresh gales from ye N Et. with squals of Rain and sudden change of the Air. Dined on a fine Irish Ling and Potatos.

[29*th*.] Heavy Air with many Squals of Rain the Wind wavering so that the Vessel often wou'd not lay her course.

30*th*. Clear Weather and Wind from No. Et. and Easterly blew very fresh.

31*st*. Thick and heavy with wavering Winds at 8 P M violent winds from the Westward with excessive Rain which got to the No. abt. 12 and clear'd which being directly ahead and Mountanous running preventing carrying Sail but oblig'd . . . . to under the foresail. . . . .

1751/2

JANUARY

1*st.* The Wind still continuing at No. tho not so violent we made Sail abt. 12 and stood No. W B haleing as near the Wind as we cou'd.

2*d.* The Sea greatly fallen and wind etc something abat[ed] tho still directly ahead which oblig'd us to keep the course we did the preceeding day.

3*d.* In the Morning Calm and clear; at noon the Wind breezed up at So. and clouded. . . . . Rain at 8 P M . . . ry squally with some violent storms of Wind which before ten oclock got to No. Wt. and remain'd there the Night with divers hard squalls of Wind and Rain

4*th.* The Wind still at No. Wt. directly ahead and Mountanous Sea we bore away N N E the whole day was attended with successive Squalls.

5*th.* Wind continuos at No. Wt. tho much abated and clear Wea . . . . . The Sea greatly fallen . . . . . changed our course to . . . other Tack.

6*th.* Last night the Wind varies to the So ward and grew calm at 6 A M freshned and had got to West we made another tack and stood No. No Wt. this day Warm and pleasant.

7*th.* Wind fresh and Wavering with some Squals and rough Sea.

8*th.* About 2 k this morning the Wind died away and at . . . . p at No. Wt. and variable . . . . e hard Squals of Wind and rain by Observation were in the Lattude of 32° 30′ ye Maredn. of Bermudas

9*th.* At 2 A: M came on excessive hard Wind at No. Wt; Rain Lightning and some thunder the Wind increased so violently and had raiz'd so Mountanous a Sea that oblig'd the hauling all her Sails and driving with bear Masts which She did untill 4 P: M: when the Wind had something Moderated and Sea abated and then She was laid too under . . . . . Stay Sail. this day h . . . . me a criple by the ships. . . . . .

10*th.* This Mor . . . . . Wind was moderate tho . . . . head about 8 A: M: we made sail and stood Wt. So. Wt. upon searching my chest discover'd I had been rob'd of 16 pistols at 2 P: M the Wind had changed to So. Wt. and blew fresh which increasing obliged us to Haul all but the fore Sail and that cou'd be carryed no longer than 12 when the Wind was so Violent the Sea so high with great Quantity of Rain . . . . nder and Sharp Light . . . . the Ship was Laid . . . . Reefed fore Sail.

11*th.* The wind still as violent as ever (with many hard Squals of Rain) Wind got somewhat more to the Westward the Sea excessively high lay too all day.

12*th.* The Wind as violent as the preceding day with Rain Hail and Snow and high and Mountanous Sea from W N Wt. Lat too all the Last night and this day under Main Stay Sail

[13*th.*] This day is br . . . . . inferior . . . . the former . . . . hard Wind high Sea Rain &c the Wind in the Same Quarter lay too as yesterday.

14*th*. Last night the Wind ceased of its violence and by 2 A: M was calm and continued so till 6 when it sprung up at East and came on Squals of Rain, much and very Large hail with violent Thunder at 8 the Wind had got to ye Wt. of the No. and blew a fret with constant Rain. . . . . we carried Sa . . . hile it was at E[a]st . . . re oblig'd to Lay too under . . . . . he Main stay Sail both by reason of the Winds being so excessive high and directly ahead before Night it was at No. Wt. and there remained.

15*th*. This morng. the Wind was not so violent as yesterday but still at No. Wt. and so hard as to hinder us from carrying Sail the Day was squally with some Intermission of Sunshine which . . . . en sinc . . . . observatio . . . . . was got and found ourselv[es] in the Latitude of . . . . 00′ At 2 P: M: Espy'd a Sail laying too bearing So. Et. abt. a League dist.

16*th*. Moderate and clear with ye Wind where it was made Sail and stood No. No Et. abt. 8 A M ye Vessel we saw Yesterday came up and spoke with us She was from St. Cits[1] bound to Norfolk Matthew Stroud Comr. She was a Sloop call'd ye Glasgow has from us Candles Twine &c . . . . d promis . . . . . s upon comp . . . . . found them to agree nea[rl]y alike [a]nd that Ca[p]t Henry boar W N W abt. 120 Leagues She had been beating abt. the Coast with contrary Winds 14 or 15 days with very rough Weather.

17*th*. Wind still at No. Wt. we had lost sight of the sloop and abt. 6 A M discovered another Vessel which came up with us abt. 10 She also was from St. Christopher's a Billander[2] and bound to Philidelphia and had been out

[1] St. Kitts or St. Christopher's, Leeward Islands.

[2] A bilander, a two-masted vessel, square-rigged with a lateen-shaped mainsail.

five Weeks: and ten days ago . . . of Cape H[enry . . . . . of Water . . . . iscovers another Sai[l] bearing No. Wt. abt. 2 Leagues standg. close to Windward as She cou'd whether it was ye Sloop we saw Yesterday or not it was too far to distinguish — this Philiadelphia Man proposed keeping Company and also of going into Virginia if he saw no better prospect the two Captns. mutually agg. to alter their Course at 6 oclock and westward

[18*th.*] . . . . . nged and g . . . . . ne very fresh with . . . other Ship was very sociable in keeping company being seldom more than ¼ Mile dist both steering West as the day advanced the Wind increased with continued Rain and by 10 P: M was oblig'd to hand all our Sails and lay too under a Stay Sail reef'd at 11 lost sight of the Vessel

19*th.* The wind had shifted from S to No and blew extreaml[y] hard with Mountainous Sea but moderating somewhat was . . . .

20[*th.*] . . . . died away and w . . . . . this Morning whe . . . . time we had been out and . . . . pect of arriving put the Capt. . . . on allowancing the Hands whi . . . . . at 8 A M was accordingly done at 10 ye Wind sprang up So. Wt. we made Sail and stood at W N W but before Midnight the Wind had got to West directly ahead blew excessive hard with thunder and Lightning. . . . . .

[21*st.*] . . . . . or . . . . Sou . . . . d N by . . . . y was c . . . . y with . . . . . 10 P: M laid the Ves . . . . . .

22*d.* The Wind had moderated and got to No. Wt. made Sail at 8 and stood W S W and after alter'd as ye Wind which by Noon had got to No. and Wt to W N W ye skie quite clouded so that there was not the least appearance

of Sun towards night ye Wind was fallen and in ye Night grew calm.

[23*d*.] . . . . . Since leaving . . . . d observation wa . . . . attitude the agreeable . . . . this day inticed the Mate to c . . . . . from his Cabbin (as a snail enlivened by the genial heat of the Sun) who since the third or four[th] day after leaving Barbados has been coop'd up with a fashionable disorder contracted there. . . . . .

[24*th*.] . . . . . un . . . . at Noon abt. . . . . ind ceased and weat . . . . break and clear.

25*th*. The weathr. extreamly cold and clear with wind at No. Wt. sounded at 8 A M witht. bottom stood S W by W by observation was in 37° 08′ Latitude. . . . . .

[26*th*.] . . . n was go . . . . rd it seem'd g . . . . . ad judged we were not . . . . the Number of birds; and g . . . . . of sedge and Marsh weed. we se . . . say and judg'd rightly for at 6 . . . sounded in 22 Fathom Water ye Wind breez'd up fair tho the Captn. carried but small Sails for fear of getting too near Land before Morning.

. . . . . off of Cape . . . . ght on a Calm . . . out of the Capes

. . . . . Early this Morning . . . . . Wind sprang up at Sp. Et. made Sail under easy Gales past the Cape abt. Sun's Rising and got to the Mouth of York River abt. 11 P. M and was met by a pilot boat . . . .

. . . . . Hired . . . . . Williamsburg. . . . Letters to the Gover[1] . . . had just gone to greensprin . . . . Dinner as I got to ye great . . . polis; upon his return (which . . . at Night) I waited upon and wa[s] received Graceously he enquired kindly after the health of my Br. and invited me to stay and dine . . . . . .

[1] Governor Robert Dinwiddie.

. . . . . things Lan . . . . . .

. . . . . A Great Main of . . . . cks[1] fought in Yorktown . . tween Glouster and York for 5 pistoles each battle and 100 ye odd I left it with Colo. Lewis[2] before it was decided and had part of his chariot to his house. . . . .

[FEBRUARY]

. . . . . .

2*d*. From . . . . . his chair to Majr. Dan . . . . field at Hobs Hole[3] — who . . . .

4*th*. Kindly conveyed Me to Layton's[4] Ferry where, I crossed and was favoured with . . . . . .

[1] Cock-fight.

[2] Colonel Robert Lewis?

[3] Hobbs Hole, now Tappahannock, Essex County, Virginia.

[4] Layton's on Rappahannock River about twenty miles above Tappahannock. Washington reached Pope's Creek, Westmoreland, March 4, 1752; from thence he went to Fredericksburg, March 5th, and arrived at Mount Vernon, with his letters and messages from Lawrence Washington to his wife, March 6th. (*Toner*.)

1752

March 5–December 31

1753

January 1–October 30

Diaries missing, or not kept. (Numbers are not assigned to these periods as it is extremely doubtful that diaries were kept.)

1753–1754

October 31–January 16

[The Journey to the French Commandant.]

The original rough notes made by Washington on his journey, during the winter of 1753–54, to the French Commandant at Fort Le Bœuf (near what is now the town of Waterford, Pennsylvania), have not survived.

On reaching Williamsburg, Washington was surprised by a request from Governor Dinwiddie to write up his notes into a connected narrative that could be presented to the Virginia Legislature. This had to be done in a single day, and Washington was still further surprised when he learned that this hastily written narrative had been handed to the public printer for publication. This first printed edition (Williamsburg, 1754) is now so rare that but two copies are known to exist. The diary here printed is from that found in Worthington C. Ford's *Writings of Washington*, I, 11 *et seq.*, which was taken from an English reprint (London, 1754) of the Williamsburg copy. I have availed myself of Mr. Ford's careful comparison and critical labor.

The original Williamsburg edition was by William Hunter, 1754. The English edition was by T. Jeffery. A copy of each of these is in the Newberry Library, Chicago. The italics are those of the Williamsburg edition.

ADVERTISEMENT

As it was thought advisable by his Honour the Governor to have the following account of my Proceedings to and from the FRENCH *on* OHIO, *committed to Print; I think I can do no less than apologize, in some Measure, for the numberless Imperfections of it.*

There intervened but one Day between my Arrival in WILLIAMSBURG, *and the Time for the Council's Meeting, for me to prepare and transcribe, from the rough Minutes I had taken of my Travels, this Journal; the writing of which only was sufficient to employ me closely the whole Time, consequently admitted of no Leisure to consult of a new and proper Form to offer it in, or to correct or amend the Diction of the old: Neither was I apprised, nor did in the least conceive, when I wrote this for his Honour's Perusal, that it ever would be published, or even have more than a cursory Reading; till I was informed, at the Meeting of the Present General Assembly, that it was already in the Press.*

There is nothing can recommend it to the Public, but this. Those Things which came under the Notice of my own Observation, I have been explicit and just in a Recital of: — Those which I have gathered from Report, I have been particularly cautious not to augment, but collected the Opinions of the several Intelligencers, and selected from the whole, the most probable and consistent Account. [1]

G. WASHINGTON.

[1] This 'Advertisement' was prepared by Washington after he learned that his narrative was being printed. It was published at the beginning of the original Williamsburg edition and is here given for its explanatory value.

[1753]

[OCTOBER]

Wednesday, 31*st*. I was commissioned and appointed by the Honourable *Robert Dinwiddie*, Esq; Governor, &c., of *Virginia*, to visit and deliver a letter[1] to the Commandant of the *French* forces on the *Ohio*, and set out on the intended Journey the same day: The next I arrived at *Fredericksburg*, and engaged Mr. *Jacob Vanbraam*,[2] to be my *French* interpreter; and proceeded with him to *Alexandria*, where we provided Necessaries. From thence we went to *Winchester*, and got Baggage, Horses, &c; and from thence we pursued the new Road to *Wills-Creek*,[3] were we arrived the 14th of *November*.

Here I engaged Mr. *Gist*[4] to pilot us and also hired four others as Servitors, *Barnaby Currin* and *John Mac-Quire*, Indian Traders, *Henry Steward*, and *William Jenkins;* and in company with those persons left the Inhabitants[5] the Day following.

[1] Under instructions from Lord Holdernesse, dated August 23, 1753, Governor Dinwiddie wrote, October 31, 1753, that 'The Lands upon the River Ohio in the Western Parts of the Colony of Virginia are so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of Great Britain, that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surprize to me to hear that a Body of French Forces are erecting Fortresses and making Settlements upon that River within his Majesty's Dominions.' He therefore sent Major George Washington, one of the Adjutant-Generals of the Dominion to complain of this and to request the French to withdraw. The letter is printed in full in the Sabin reprint (H. O. Houghton & Co., New York, 1865) of the Jeffery edition of 1754, London.

[2] Van Braam was a Hollander. He taught Washington fencing and, later, was with him at Fort Necessity.

[3] Up the Shenandoah Valley. Will's Creek is now Cumberland, Maryland.

[4] Christopher Gist, Indian trader, employed by the Ohio Company. He is one of the best-known of the famous American frontiersmen.

[5] Left the inhabitants; that is, passed beyond the settlements.

The excessive Rains and vast Quantity of Snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. *Frazier's*,[1] an Indian Trader, at the Mouth of *Turtle Creek*, on *Monongahela*, till Thursday, the 22d. We were informed here, that Expresses had been sent a few Days before to the Traders down the River, to acquaint them with the *French* General's death,[2] and the Return of the major Part of the *French* Army into Winter Quarters.

The Waters were quite impassible without swimming our Horses; which obliged us to get the Loan of a Canoe from *Frazier*, and to send *Barnaby Currin* and *Henry Steward* down the *Monongahela*, with our Baggage, to meet us at the Forks of *Ohio*, about 10 miles, there to cross the *Alighany*.

As I got down before the Canoe I spent some time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork; which I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water; and a considerable Bottome of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for Building: The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right Angles: *Alighany* bearing N.E. and *Monongahela* S.E. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running Water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible Fall.

About two Miles from this, on the South East Side of the river, at the Place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a Fort, lives *Shingiss*,[3] king of the *Delawares:* We

[1] John Frazier.

[2] The French General was Pierre Paul, Sieur de Marin, who had been sent by Duquesne to erect a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers; this afterwards became the site of Fort Duquesne and, later, Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh.

[3] Shingiss, at first a friend of the English, but later joined the French. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 15, 1756, carried an advertised reward of £350 for his head. (*Ford.*)

called upon him, to invite him to Council at the *Loggs*-Town.[1]

As I had taken a good deal of Notice Yesterday of the Situation at the *Forks*, my Curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages; especially the latter: For a Fort at the *Forks* would be equally well situated on the *Ohio*, and have the entire Command of the *Monongahela;* which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well designed for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep still Nature. Besides a fort at the *Fork* might be built at a much less Expence, than at the other Place.

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill whereon it must stand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then descending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expensive, to make a sufficient Fortification there — The whole Flat upon the Hill must be taken in, the Side next the Descent made extremely high, or else the Hill itself cut away: otherwise the Enemy may raise Batteries within that Distance without being exposed to a single Shot from the Fort.

Shingiss attended us to the *Loggs*-Town, where we arrived between Sun-setting and Dark, the 25th Day after I left *Williamsburg*. We travelled over some extreme good and bad Land, to get to this Place. —

As soon as I came into Town, I went to *Monakatoocha*[2] (as the Half-king[3] was out at his hunting-Cabbin on

[1] Logs Town, supposed to have been on Big Beaver Creek, Pennsylvania, seventeen miles below the junction of the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers. It was built by the French as a trading post for the Indians. Its name describes it.

[2] Also known as Scarrooyady. He was an Oneida and Mingo Chief, as well as headman of the Logs Town Shawnese. Washington called upon him by Dinwiddie's orders.

[3] The Half-King was Tanacharisson, a Seneca chief, called Half-King because he owed allegiance to the Six Nations.

little *Beaver*-Creek, about 15 Miles off) and informed him by *John Davison*, my *Indian* Interpreter, that I was sent a Messenger to the *French* General; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the *Six Nations*, to acquaint them with it — I gave him a String of Wampum,[1] and a twist of Tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King; which he promised to do by a runner in the Morning, and for other Sachems, — I invited him and the other great Men present to my Tent, where they stayed about an Hour and return'd.

According to the best observations I could make, Mr. *Gist's* new Settlement[2] (which we pass'd by) bears about W.N.W. 70 Miles from *Wills*-Creek; *Shanapins*,[3] or the Forks N. by W. or N.N.W. about 50 Miles from that; and from thence to the *Loggs*-Town, the course is nearly West about 18 or 20 Miles: so that the whole Distance, as we went and computed it, is at least 135 or 140 Miles from our back Inhabitants.

25*th*. Came to Town four or ten *Frenchmen* who had deserted from a Company at the *Kuskuskas*,[4] which lies at the Mouth of this River. I got the following Account from them. They were sent from *New-Orleans* with 100 men, and 8 Canoe-Loads of Provisions to this Place; where they expected to have met the same Number of Men, from the Forts on this Side Lake *Erie*, to convey them and the Stores up, who were not arrived so they ran-off.

I enquired into the Situation of the *French*, on the *Mississippi*, their Number, and what Forts they had

[1] Wampum, a certain kind of shell, valued by the Indians as money. It had also a ceremonial value and was the material used in making all treaty belts.

[2] Gist's New Settlement was in the vicinity of what is now Mount Braddock, Pennsylvania.

[3] Shanapins, town of the Six Nations, just above Fort Duquesne on the Allegheny River.

[4] Kuskuskas, an Indian town on Big Beaver Creek, above Logs Town. It was the chief town of the Six Nations, according to John Gilmary Shea.

built. They inform'd me, That there were four small Forts between *New Orleans* and the *Black-Islands*[1] garrison'd with about 30 or 40 Men, and a few small Pieces in each. That at *New Orleans*, which is near the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, there are 35 Companies of 40 Men each, with a pretty strong Fort mounting 8 Carriage Guns; and at the *Black-Islands* there are several Companies, and a Fort with 6 Guns. The *Black-Islands* are about 130 Leagues above the Mouth of the *Ohio*, which is about 350 above *New-Orleans*. They also acquainted me that there was a small palisado'd Fort on the *Ohio*, at the Mouth of the *Obaish*[2] about 60 Leagues from the Mississippi. The *Obaish* heads near the West end of Lake *Erie*, and affords the communication between the French on *Mississippi* and those on the Lakes. These Deserters came up from the lower *Shanoah*[3] Town with one *Brown*, and *Indian* Trader, and were going to *Philadelphia*.

About 3 o'Clock this Evening the Half-King came to Town. I went up and invited him with *Davison*, privately to my Tent; and desir'd him to relate some of the Particulars of his Journey to the French *Commandant*,[4] and Reception there: Also to give me an account of the Ways and Distance. He told me that the nearest and levellest Way was now impassable, by Reason of many large mirey Savannas; that we must be obliged to go by *Venango*,[5] and should not get to the near Fort under 5 or 6 Nights Sleep, good Travelling. When he went to the Fort, he said he was received in a very stern Manner by the late Commander; who ask'd him very abruptly, what he had come about,

[1] Black Islands. Van Braam evidently failed to understand the word 'Illinois' and thought *Isles Noires* were the words. There are no Black Islands, and Illinois was then an unknown word in the English Colonies. (*J. G. Shea.*)

[2] Obaish = Wabash; the fort was probably Vincennes. (*Shea.*)

[3] Shanoah, Shawanoe, now Shawnee or Shawnese.

[4] Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, at Fort Le Bœuf, whither Washington was bound.

[5] Venango, an Indian town at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny River.

and to declare his Business: Which he said he did in the following Speech:

Fathers, I am come to tell you your own Speeches; what your own Mouths have declared. Fathers, You in former Days, set a silver Bason before us, wherein there was the Leg of a Beaver, and desir'd all the Nations to come and eat of it; to eat in Peace and Plenty, and not to be churlish to one another: and that if any such Person should be found to be a Disturber, I here lay down by the edge of the Dish a Rod, which you must scourge them with; and if I your Father, should get Foolish in my old Days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

Now Fathers, it is you who are the Disturbers in this Land, by coming and building your Towns; and taking it away unknown to us, and by Force.

Fathers, We kindled a fire a long Time ago, at a Place called *Montreal*, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our Land. I now desire you may dispatch to that Place for be it known to you, Fathers, that this is our Land, and not yours.

Fathers, I desire you may hear me in Civilness; if not, we must handle that Rod which was laid down for the Use of the abstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable Manner, like our Brothers, the *English*, we should not have been against your trading with us, as they do; BUT TO COME, FATHERS, AND BUILD HOUSES UPON OUR LAND, AND TO TAKE IT BY FORCE, IS WHAT WE CANNOT SUBMIT TO.

Fathers, Both you and the *English* are white, we live in a country between; therefore the Land belongs to neither one nor t'other; But the Great Being above allow'd it to be a place of Residence for us; so Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the *English:* For I will keep you at Arm's length. I lay this down as a Trial for both, to see which will have the greatest Regard for it, and that Side we will stand by and make equal shares with us. Our Brothers, the *English*, have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this Land.

This he said was the substance of what he spoke to the General, who made this Reply:

Now my child, I have heard your Speech: you spoke first, but it is my time to speak now. Where is my Wampum that you took away, with the Marks of towns in it?[1] This wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the Land with; but you need not put yourself to the Trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of Flies, or Musquitos, for *Indians* are such as those. I tell you, down the River I will go, and will build upon it, according to my command. If the River was block'd up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my Feet all that Stand in Opposition, together with their Alliances; for my Force is as the Sand upon the Sea Shore; therefore, here is your Wampum, I fling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say this Land belongs to you, but there is not the Black of my Nail yours. I saw that Land sooner than you did, before the Shannoahs and you were at War: *Lead*[2] was the Man who went down and took Possession of that River: It is my Land, and I will have it, let who will stand-up for, or say-against it. I'll buy and sell with the *English* (*mockingly*). If People will be rul'd by me, they may expect kindness, but not else.

The Half-King told me he enquired of the General after two *Englishmen* who were made Prisoners, and received this Answer:

Child, you think it a very great Hardship that I made Prisoners of those two People at *Venango*. Don't concern yourself with it: We took and carried them to *Canada*, to get Intelligence of what the *English* were doing in *Virginia*.

He informed me that they had built two Forts, one on Lake *Erie*,[3] and another on *French*-Creek[4] near a small Lake about 15 Miles asunder and a large Waggon Road between; They are both built after the same Model, but different in Size; that on the Lake the largest. He gave me a Plan of them, of his own drawing.

[1] See entry for December 6th, *post*.

[2] This may refer to La Salle, or Celeron, and the lead plates which were said to have been buried at various places through the Ohio country claiming the territory for the King of France.

[3] Fort Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania.

[4] Fort Le Bœuf, Washington's destination, near what is now Waterford, Pennsylvania. The lake was called Lake Le Bœuf.

The *Indians* enquired very particularly after their Brothers in *Carolina* Goal.[1] They also asked what sort of Boy it was who was taken from the *South*-Branch;[2] for they were told by some Indians, that a Party of *French Indians* had carried a white Boy by the *Kuskuska* Town, towards the Lakes.

26*th.* We met in Council at the *Long-House*,[3] about 9 o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows:

Brothers, I have called you together in Council by order of your Brother, the Governor of *Virginia*, to acquaint you, that I am sent, with all possible Dispatch, to visit, and deliver a Letter to the *French* Commandant, of very great Importance to your Brothers, the *English;* and I dare say, to you their Friends and Allies.

I was desired, Brothers, by your Brother the Governor, to call upon you, the Sachems of the Nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your Advice and Assistance to proceed to the nearest and best Road to the *French*. You see, Brothers, I have gotten thus far on my Journey.

His Honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young Men, to conduct and provide Provisions for us on our Way; and be a safe-guard against those *French Indians* who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you Brothers, because his Honour our Governor treats you as good Friends and Allies; and holds you in great Esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this String of Wampum.

After they had considered for some Time on the above Discourse, the Half-King got up and spoke:

[1] Young Shawnese Indians from Pennsylvania who went to South Carolina on the war-path and were arrested by the State authorities as disturbers of the peace. There is reference to this in Governor Hamilton's letter to Governor Glen, printed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, v, 696.

[2] South Branch of the Potomac?

[3] Long-House was the usual name of the largest cabin or wigwam of the Six Nations. It was the council-house and there appear to have been several so called in different parts of the country of the Six Nations.

Now, my Brothers, in regard to what my Brother the Governor has desired me, I return you this answer. I rely upon you as a Brother ought to do, as you say we are Brothers and one People: We shall put Heart in Hand and speak to our Fathers the *French* concerning the Speech they have made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your Guard.

Brother, as you have asked my Advice, I hope you will be ruled by it and stay till I can provide a Company to go with you. The *French* Speech-Belt is not here, I have it to go for to my hunting Cabbin: Likewise the People whom I have ordered in, are not yet come, nor cannot till the third Night from this: till which Time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

I intend to send a Guard of *Mingo's*,[1] *Shannoahs* and *Delawares*, that our Brothers may see the Love and Loyalty we bear them.

As I had Orders to make all possible Dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my Inclinations, I thanked him in the most suitable Manner I could; and told him, that my Business required the greatest Expedition, and would not admit of that Delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the Time he had appointed, and told me, that he could not consent to our going without a Guard, for fear some Accident should befal us and draw a Reflection upon him. Besides, says he, this is a Matter of no small Moment, and must not be entered into without due Consideration: For now I intend to deliver up the *French*-Speech-Belt, and make the *Shanoahs* and *Delawares* do the same. And accordingly he gave orders to King *Shingiss*, who was present, to attend on *Wednesday* Night with the Wampum; and two Men of their Nation to be in Readiness to set-out with us next Morning. As I found it was impossible to get-off without affronting them in the most egregious Manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a String of Wampum which I met with

[1] Mingoes, properly Andastes or Gandestogues, Canestoga Indians of the Susquehannah. (*Shea.*)

at Mr. *Frazier's*, and which they had sent with a Speech to his Honour the Governor, to inform him, that three Nations of *French Indians*, viz: *Chippoways*, *Ottoways*, and *Orundacks*[1] had taken up the Hatchet against the *English;* and desired them to repeat it over again: But this they postponed doing till they met in full Council with the *Shannoahs* and *Delaware* Chiefs.

27*th.* Runners were now dispatched very early for the *Shannoah* Chiefs. The Half-King set out himself to fetch the *French*-Speech-Belt from his hunting Cabbin.

28*th.* He returned this Evening, and came with *Monokatoocha*, and two other Sachems to my Tent, and begged (as they had complied with his Honour the Governor's Request, in providing Men, &c.) to know on what Business we were going to the *French?* this was a Question I all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory Answers to, as I could; which allayed their Curiosity a little.

Monokatoocha informed me, that an *Indian* from *Venango* brought News, a few Days ago, that the French had called all the *Mingo's*, *Delawares*, &c. together at that Place; and told them, that they intended to have been down the River this Fall, but the Waters were growing cold, and the Winter advancing, which obliged them to go into Quarters: But that they might assuredly expect them in the Spring, with a far greater Number; and desired that they might be quite passive, and not to intermeddle, unless they had a Mind to draw all their Force upon them: For that they expected to fight the *English* three Years (as they supposed there would be some Attempts made to stop them), in which Time they should conquer: But that if they should prove equally Strong, they and the *English* would join to cut them all off, and divide the Land be-

[1] Orundacks, supposed to be the Adirondacks. (*Shea.*)

tween them: That though they had lost their General, and some few of their Soldiers, yet there were Men enough to reinforce them, and make them masters of the *Ohio*.

This Speech, he said, was delivered to them by one Captain *Joncaire*,[1] their Interpreter in Chief, living at *Venango*, and a Man of Note in the Army.

29*th*. The Half-King and *Monokatoocha* came very early, and begged me to stay one Day more: For notwithstanding they had used all the Diligence in their Power, the *Shanoah* Chiefs had not brought the Wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in To-night; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived. — When I found them so pressing in their Request, and knew that returning of Wampum was the Abolishing of Agreements; and giving this up, was shaking-off all Dependance upon the *French*, I consented to stay, as I believed an Offence offered at this Cricis, might be attended with greater ill Consequence, than another Day's Delay. They also informed me, that Shingiss could not get-in his Men; and was prevented from coming himself by his Wife's Sickness (I believe, by Fear of the *French*); but that the Wampum of that Nation was lodged with *Kustaloga*[2] one of their Chiefs at *Venango*.

In the Evening late they came again and acquainted me that the *Shannoahs* were not yet arrived, but that it should not retard the Prosecution of our Journey. He delivered in my Hearing, the Speeches that were to be made to the *French* by *Jeskakake*, one of their old Chiefs, which was giving-up the Belt the late Commandant had asked for, and repeating near the same Speech he himself had done before.

[1] Chabert de Joncaire, a half-breed, son of Sieur de Joncaire and a Seneca squaw. (*Ford.*)

[2] Kustaloga, or Custaloga, a Delaware chief.

He also delivered a String of Wampum to this Chief, which was sent by King *Shingiss*, to be given to *Kustaloga*, with orders to repair to the *French* and deliver up the Wampum. He likewise gave a very large String of black and white Wampum, which was to be sent immediately to the Six Nations, if the *French* refused to quit the Land at this Warning; which was the third and last Time, and was the Right of this *Jeskakake* to deliver.

30*th*. Last Night the great Men assembled to their Council-House, to consult further about this Journey, and who were to go: The Result of which was, that only three of their Chiefs, with one of their best Hunters, should be our Convoy. The Reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at Council the 26th, was, that a greater Number might give the *French* Suspicions of some bad Design, and cause them to be treated rudely: But I rather think they could not get their Hunters in.

We set out about 9 o-Clock with the Half-King, *Jeskakake*, *White Thunder*, and the Hunter; and travelled on the Road to *Venango*,[1] where we arrived the 4th of *December*, without any Thing remarkable happening but a continued Series of bad Weather.

[DECEMBER]

[4*th*.] This is an old *Indian* Town,[2] situated at the Mouth of *French* Creek on *Ohio;* and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the *Loggs*-Town, but more than 70 the way we were obliged to go.

We found the *French* Colours hoisted at a House from which they had driven Mr. *John Frazier*, an *English*

[1] The road traveled to Venango followed, to an extent, the course of Big Beaver Creek.

[2] At Venango.

Subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander resided. There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. *Joncaire*, informed me, that he had the command of the *Ohio;* But that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, where he advised me to apply for an Answer. He invited us to sup with them; and treated us with the greatest Complaisance. The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appeared in their Conversation; and gave a licence to the Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely. They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the *Ohio*, and by G— they would do it; For that altho' they were sensible the *English* could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Discovery made by one *La Salle*[1] 60 Years ago; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent our settling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of some Families moving-out in Order thereto. From the best Intelligence I could get, there have been 1500 Men on their Side *Ontario* Lake: But upon the Death of the General all were recalled to about 6 or 700, who were left to garrison four Forts, 150 or thereabouts in each. The first of them is on *French*-Creek near a small Lake, about 60 Miles from *Venango*, near N.N.W. the next lies on Lake *Erie*, where the greater Part of their Stores are kept, about 15 Miles from the other. From this it is 120 Miles to the carrying Place at the Fall of Lake *Erie*[2] where there is a small Fort;[3] which they lodge their Goods at, in bringing them from *Montreal*, the Place whence all their Stores come from. The next Fort lies

[1] Robert, Cavalier de la Salle, following Marquette and Joliet, descended the Mississippi River to its mouth in 1682. (*Shea.*)

[2] Niagara Falls. [3] Fort Niagara.

about 20 Miles from this, on *Ontario* Lake.[1] Between this Fort and *Montreal* there are three others, the first[2] of which is near opposite to the *English* Fort *Oswego*. From the Fort on Lake *Erie* to *Montreal* is about 600 Miles, which they say requires no more, of good Weather, than four Weeks Voyage, if they go in Barks or large Vessels, so that they may cross the Lake: But if they come in Canoes it will require 5 or 6 Weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the Shore.

5th. Rain'd excessively all Day, which prevented our Travelling. Capt. *Joncaire* sent for the Half-King, as he had but just heard that he came with me: He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best Manner I was capable, and told him, I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in Dispraise of *Indians* in general. But another Motive prevented me from bringing them into his Company: I knew he was Interpreter, and a Person of great great Influence among the *Indians*, and had lately used all possible Means to draw them over to their Interest; therefore I was desirous of giving no Opportunity that could be avoided.

When they came in, there was great Pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near without coming to visit him; made several trifling Presents; and applied Liquor so fast, that they were soon rendered incapable of the Business they came about,[3] notwithstanding the Caution which was given.

[1] Fort Toronto. (*Ford.*)

[2] Fort Frontenac. (*Ford.*)

[3] Gist's diary, printed in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series 3, v, 103–04, does not mention the drinking, but says that the Indians were in Council this day (December 5), and that the Delaware chief declined to accede to King Shingiss's order to deliver up the French Speech Belt. 'But the Half-King did deliver his belt, as he had determined.' Washington places this action of the Half-King on December 6th.

6th. The Half-King came to my Tent, quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the *French*. I fain would have prevented him speaking any Thing till he came to the Commandant, but could not prevail. He told me that at this Place a Council Fire was kindled, where all their Business with these People was to be transacted; and that the Management of the *Indian* affairs was left solely to Monsieur *Joncaire*. As I was desirous of knowing the Issue of this, I agreed to stay; But sent our Horses a little way up *French* Creek to raft over and encamp; which I knew would make it near Night.

About 10 o'Clock they met in Council. The King spoke much the same as he had before done to the General; and offered the *French* Speech-Belt which had before been demanded, with the Marks of four Towns on it, which Monsieur *Joncaire* refused to receive; but desired him to carry it to the Fort to the Commander.

7th. Monsieur *La Force*, Commissary of the *French* Stores, and three other Soldiers came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the *Indians* off To-day, as every Stratagem had been used to prevent their going-up with me. I had last Night, left John *Davison* (the *Indian* Interpreter whom I brought with me from Town), and strictly charged him not to be out of their Company, as I could not get them over to my Tent; for they had some Business with *Kustaloga*, and chiefly to know the Reason why he did not deliver up the *French* Belt which he had in Keeping: But I was obliged to send Mr. *Gist* over To-day to fetch them; which he did with great Persuasion.[1]

[1] Gist says, under date of December 5th: 'Joncaire did everything he could to prevail on our Indians to stay behind us, and I took all care to have them along with us.'

At 11 o'Clock we set out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th by excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps.[1] These we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the Creek, which was impossible, either by fording or rafting, the Water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good Land since we left *Venango*, and through several extensive and very rich Meadows; one of which I believe was near four Miles in Length, and considerably wide in some Places.

12*th*. I prepared early to wait upon the Commander,[2] and was received and conducted to him by the second Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Business, and offered my Commission and Letter: Both of which he desired me to keep till the arrival of Monsieur *Riparti* Captain, at the next Fort, who was sent for and expected every Hour.

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. *Lewis*, and named *Legardeur de St. Pierre*. He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the air of a Soldier. He was sent over to take the Command immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me.

At 1 o'Clock the Gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the Letter, &c, again; which they received, and adjourned into a private Apartment for the Captain

[1] Gist's diary is more definite as to the route traveled. Friday, December 7th, the party was at Sugar Creek, five miles from Venango. December 8th, traveled twenty-five miles and reached Cussewago, an old Indian town. December 9th, traveled to the 'big crossing' of French Creek, but concluded, on account of the high water, not to cross, but to travel up the west side of it. December 10th, traveled eight miles and crossed a deep creek. December 11th, traveled fifteen miles and reached Fort le Bœuf.

[2] The Commandant was Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, of the family of Le Gardeur de Repentigny and a younger member of the family, apparently a M. de Repentigny, was the person meant by Washington's reference to Captain Riparti. (*Shea.*)

to translate, who understood a little *English*. After he had done it, the Commander desired I would walk-in, and bring my Interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

13*th*. The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War; which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, and making what Observations I could.

It is situated on the South or West Fork of *French* Creek, near the Water; and is almost surrounded by the Creek, and a small Branch of it which forms a Kind of Island. Four Houses compose the Sides. The Bastions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, standing more than 12 Feet above it, and sharp at Top: With Port-Holes cut for Cannon, and Loop-Holes for the small Arms to fire through. There are eight 6 *lb*. Pieces mounted, in each Bastion; and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate. In the Bastions are a Guard-House, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Commander's private Store: Round which are laid Plat-Forms for the Cannon and Men to stand on. There are several Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers Dwelling; covered, some with Bark and some with Boards, made chiefly of Loggs. There are also several other Houses, such as Stables, Smiths Shop, &c.

I could get no certain account of the Number of Men here: But according to the best Judgment I could form, there are an Hundred exclusive of Officers, of which there are many. I also gave Orders to the People who were with me, to take an exact Account of the Canoes which were hauled-up to convey their Forces down in the Spring. This they did, and told 50 of Birch Bark, and 170 of Pine; besides many others which were blocked-out, in Readiness to make.

14*th*. As the Snow increased very fast, and our Horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded; under the

Care of *Barnaby Currin*, and two others, to make all convenient Dispatch to *Venango*, and there await our Arrival, if there was a prospect of the Rivers freezing: If not, then to continue down to *Shanapin's* Town, at the Forks of the *Ohio*, and there to wait till we came to cross the *Aliganey;* intending myself to go down by Water, as I had the Offer of a Canoe or two.

As I found many Plots concerted to retard the *Indians* Business, and prevent their returning with me; I endeavor'd all that lay in my Power to frustrate their Schemes, and to hurry them on to execute their intended Design. They accordingly pressed for Admittance this Evening, which at Length was granted them, privately, with the Commander and one or two other officers. The Half-King told me, that he offer'd the Wampum to the Commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair Promises of Love and Friendship; said he wanted to live in Peace, and trade amicably with them, as a Proof of which he would send some Goods down immediately to the *Logg*'s-Town for them. But I rather think the Design of that is, to bring away all our straggling Traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an Officer, &c, with them. And what rather confirms this Opinion, I was enquiring of the Commander, by what Authority he had made Prisoners of several of our *English* Subjects. He told me that the Country belong'd to them; that no *Englishman* had a Right to trade upon those Waters; and that he had Orders to make every Person Prisoner who attempted it on the *Ohio*, or the Waters of it.

I enquir'd of Capt. *Riparti* about the Boy who was carried by this Place, as it was done while the Command devolved on him, between the Death of the late General, and the Arrival of the present. He acknowledged, that a Boy had been carried past; and that the *Indians* had two or three white Men's Scalps (I was told by some of the

Indians at *Venango* Eight) but pretended to have forgotten the name of the Place the Boy came from, and all the Particular Facts, though he had question'd him for some Hours, as they were carrying him past. I likewise enquired what they had done with *John Trotter* and *James MacClocklan*,[1] two *Pensylvania* Traders, whom they had taken, with all their Goods. They told me, that they had been sent to *Canada*, but were now returned Home.

This Evening I received an Answer to his Honour the Governor's Letter from the Commandant.[2]

15*th*. The Commandant ordered a plentiful Store of Liquor, Provision, &c., to be put on Board our Canoe; and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every Artifice which he could invent to set our own *Indians* at Variance with us, to prevent their going 'till after our Departure. Presents, Rewards, and every Thing which could be suggested by him or his Officers. — I can't say that ever in my Life I suffered so much Anxiety as I did in this Affair: I saw that every Stratagem which the most fruitful Brain could invent, was practised, to win the Half-King to their Interest; and that leaving him here was giving them the Opportunity they aimed at. — I went to the Half-King and press'd him in the strongest Terms to go: He told me the Commandant would not discharge him 'till the Morning. I then went to the Commandant, and desired him to do their Business; and com-

[1] John Trotter and James McLaughlin. John Frazier's letter telling of their capture is quoted, from the *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, vi, 22, by Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), i, 370.

[2] St. Pierre's reply to Dinwiddie was dated December 15, 1753, at the Fort on River Bœuf. He regretted, he said, that Washington would not go to Canada with his message, which would be duly forwarded to the Marquis Duquesne. 'As to the Summons you send to me to retire,' wrote St. Pierre, 'I do not think myself obliged to obey it; whatever are your Instructions, I am here by Virtue of the Order of my General; and I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one Moment, but I am determined to conform myself to them, with all the Exactness and Resolution which can be expected from the best Officer.'

plain'd of ill Treatment: For keeping them, as they were Part of my Company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my Journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the Cause of their Stay; though I soon found it out: — He had promised them a present of Guns, &c, if they would wait 'till the morning.

As I was very much press'd by the *Indians*, to wait this Day for them, I consented, on a Promise, That nothing should hinder them in the Morning.

16*th*. The *French* were not slack in their Inventions to keep the *Indians* this Day also: But as they were obligated, according to Promise, to give the Present, they then endeavored to try the Power of Liquor; which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other Time than this; But I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his Word, that he refrained, and set off with us as he had engaged.[1]

We had a tedious and very fatiguing Passage down the Creek. Several Times we were like to have been staved against Rocks; and many Times were obliged all Hands to get out and remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals. At one Place the Ice had lodged and made it impassable by Water; therefore we were obliged to carry our Canoe across a Neck of Land, a quarter of a Mile over. We did not reach *Venango*, till the 22d, where we met with our Horses.

This Creek is extremely crooked, I dare say the Distance between the Fort and *Venango* can't be less than 130 Miles, to follow the Meanders.

23*d*. When I got Things ready to set-off, I sent for the Half-King, to know whether he intended to go with us or

[1] The Indians went first in one canoe and Washington, Gist, and the others followed in the second.

by Water. He told me that *White-Thunder* had hurt himself much, and was sick and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a Canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a Day or two, and knew that Monsieur *Joncaire* would employ every Scheme [1] to set him against the English as he had before done; I told him I hoped he would guard against his Flattery, and let no fine Speeches influence him in their Favour. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well, for anything to engage him in their Behalf; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavour to meet us at the Forks with *Joseph Campbell*, to deliver a Speech for me to carry to his Honour the Governor. He told me he would order the young Hunter to attend us, and get Provision, &c. if wanted.

Our Horses were now so weak and feeble, and the Baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the Necessaries which the Journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it; therefore myself and others (except the Drivers, who were obliged to ride) gave up our Horses for Packs, to assist along with the Baggage. I put myself in an *Indian* walking Dress,[2] and continued with them three Days, till I found there was no Probability of their getting home in any reasonable Time. The Horses grew less able to travel every Day; the Cold increased very fast; and the Roads were becoming much worse by a deep Snow, continually freezing: Therefore as I was uneasy to

[1] The French had followed Washington for the purpose of continuing their efforts to influence his Indians. Four canoes started, but one was sunk; the others went past the white men's canoe in an effort to reach the Indians who were on ahead, and Gist tells, in his diary, under date of December 22d, that 'we had the pleasure of seeing the French overset, and the brandy and wine floating in the creek.' Washington's canoe 'run by them, and left them to shift for themselves.'

[2] Hip-length leggins of skins and a sort of knee-length coat, belted at the waist, after the style of what became known as the 'hunting shirt' during the Revolutionary War.

get back, to make Report of my Proceedings to his Honour, the Governor, I determined to prosecute my Journey the nearest Way through the Woods, on Foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. *Vanbraam* in Charge of our Baggage: with Money and Directions to Provide Necessaries from Place to Place for themselves and Horses, and to make the most convenient Dispatch in Travelling.

I took my necessary Papers; pulled off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat.[1] Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set-out with Mr. *Gist*,[2] fitted in the same Manner, on *Wednesday* the 26th.

The Day following, just after we had passed a Place called the *Murdering*-Town[3] (where we intended to quit the Path, and steer across the Country for *Shannapins* Town) we fell in with a Party of *French* Indians, who had lain in Wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. *Gist* or me, not 15 steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into Custody, and kept him till about 9 o'clock at Night; Then let him go, and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop; that we might get the start, so far, as to be out of the Reach of their Pursuit the next Day, since we were well assured they would follow our Tract as soon as it was light. The

[1] So called because made of skins that were matched in putting them together. There was a coarse woolen cloth known as 'match-cloth' which was used by the English in imitation of the Indian skin coat. It is, of course, impossible to say whether Washington's coat was of skins or cloth.

[2] Gist says (December 26th) that 'I was unwilling he (Washington) should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time.' They traveled eighteen miles the first day.

[3] Murthering Town on the southeastern fork of Beaver Creek. Gist's diary mentions meeting but one Indian; his account of the attempted shooting places the occurrence much later in the day and under different circumstances than those so casually mentioned by Washington. (*See* Gist's diary as previously cited, under entry of December 27th.) Washington and Gist reached Piney Creek at the end of their all-night march. The hurry with which Washington prepared his narrative measurably explains his relation of an incident that had no bearing upon his mission.

next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River[1] about two Miles above *Shannapins*. We expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each Shore; The Ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast Quantities.

There was no way for getting over but on a Raft; Which we set about with but one poor Hatchet, and finished just after Sun-setting. This was a whole Day's Work. Then set off; But before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice, in such a Manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put-out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by; when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with so much Violence against the Pole, that it jerked me out into ten Feet Water: but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore; but were obliged, as we were near an Island to quit our Raft and make to it.

The Cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. *Gist* had all his Fingers, and some of his Toes frozen; but the water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting-off the Island, on the Ice, in the Morning, and went to Mr. *Frazier's*. We met here about 20 Warriors who were going to the *Southward* to War, but coming to a Place upon the Head of the great Kunnaway,[2] where they found seven People killed and scalped (all but one Woman with very light Hair) they turned about and ran back for fear the Inhabitants should rise and take them as the Authors of the Murder. They report that the Bodies were lying about the House, and some of them much torn and eaten by Hogs. By the Marks which were left, they say they were *French* Indians of the *Ottaway* Nation, &c., who did it.

As we intended to take Horses here, and it required

[1] Allegheny River. [2] Kunnaway = Great Kanawha River.

some Time to find them, I went-up about three Miles to the Mouth of *Yaughyaughane* to visit Queen *Aliquippa*,[1] who had expressed great Concern that we passed her in going to the Fort. I made her a Present of a Matchcoat and a Bottle of Rum; which latter was thought much the best Present of the Two.

[1] Queen Aliquippa, of the Delaware Nation. She lived on the site of the present McKeesport, Pennsylvania.

[1754]

[JANUARY]

Tuesday the 1st Day of January, we left Mr. *Frazier's* House, and arrived at Mr. *Gist's* at *Monongahela* the 2d, where I bought a Horse, Saddle, etc: the 6th we met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores, for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio*, and the Day after some Families going out to settle: This Day we arrived at *Wills* Creek, after as fatiguing a Journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad Weather. From the first Day of December to the 15th, there was but one Day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly: and throughout the whole Journey we met with nothing but one continued Series of cold wet Weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable Lodgings: especially after we had quitted our Tent, which was some Screen from the Inclemency of it.

On the 11*th* I got to Belvoir: where I stopped one Day to take necessary Rest; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th; when I waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the French Commandant; and to give an Account of the Success of my Proceedings. This I beg leave to do by offering the foregoing Narrative as it contains the most remarkable Occurrences which happened in my Journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honour satisfied with my Conduct; for that was my Aim in undertaking the Journey, and chief Study throughout the Prosecution of it.

1754

January 17–March 30

Diary missing, or not kept

1754

March 31–June 27

[Journal of the march toward the Ohio.]

The original notes and memoranda made by Washington during his march toward the Ohio were captured by the French at Fort Necessity. Just how these papers were left behind is not clear. The hurry and haste of the evacuation is the only explanation. They were sent to France and were at once translated into French. Little more than a year later the French Government published this translation as an argument in justifying France's seizure of the Ohio region. This publication appeared in Paris in 1756 as a part of a *Mémoire Contenant le Précis des Faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives pour servir de réponse aux observations envoyées par les ministres d'Angleterre dans les cours de l'Europe*, p. 147 *et seq.* This French publication was quickly translated back into English and republished in London. It was brought to America and an edition issued by Hugh Gaine, in New York in 1757. Toner states (*Journal of Colonel George Washington, 1754.* Albany, 1893, p. 131) that, after seeing this Gaine edition, Washington wrote, March 27, 1757: 'In regard to the Journal, I can only observe in general, that I kept no regular one during the Expedition; rough notes of occurrences I certainly took, and find them as certainly and strangely metamorphosed, some parts left out which I remember were entered and many things added that never were thought of, the names of men and things egregiously miscalled, and the whole of what I saw Englished is very incorrect and nonsensical.' Sparks (*Writings of Washington*, II, 463) quotes this same letter at greater length; but I have been unable to locate it in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress; its characterization of the French publication is, however, so just that the preceding extract is given.

The following text is a combination of Toner's version and that given by Worthington C. Ford in his *Writings of Washington.* As this diary is, at best, a translation and every English version a retranslation, freedom in form seemed justifiable and the crudities of spelling in the early English texts were not followed; they could not, by any reasoning, be ascribed to Washington.

The footnotes of the French version, being merely argumentative comment, designed to call attention to supposed proofs that the English were at fault for encroaching on French territory and for commencing hostilities, are omitted here.

1754

MARCH

On the 31*st March* I received from his Honour[1] a Lieutentant Colonel's Commission of the Virginia Regiment whereof Joshua Fry,[2] Esquire, was Colonel, dated the 15th, with Orders[3] to take the troops, which were at that time quartered at Alexandria under my command, and to march with them towards the Ohio, there to aid Captain Trent[4] in building Forts, and in defending the possesions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the French.

APRIL

April the 2nd. Every Thing being ready, we began our march[5] according to our Orders, the 2nd of April, with

[1] Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie.

[2] Colonel Fry's instructions were to march to and erect a fort on the Monongahela. He was injured by an accidental fall from his horse and died May 31, 1754.

[3] Washington's instructions (*Dinwiddie Papers*, edited by Brock, 1, 59) were to proceed, with a detachment of one hundred men (the total force that marched was slightly over one hundred and fifty), to the forks of the Ohio and finish building the fort which Dinwiddie thought had already been begun by the Ohio Company.

[4] Captain William Trent, of Pennsylvania. He had been employed by Governor Dinwiddie in the Indian service.

[5] The diary does not give the route of this march which ended disastrously in the retreat and surrender at Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754; but from Washington's expense account it seems reasonably sure that he traveled from Alexandria, through Loudoun County and crossed the Blue Ridge at Vestal's Gap. On the west side of the Ridge he crossed the Shenandoah at John Vestal's Ferry and from thence marched to Winchester; from Winchester to Edwards's Fort, on the South Branch of the Great Cacapehon Creek; from Edwards's to Pearsal's on the South Branch of the Potomac; crossing that river at Cresap's, and thence up to Will's Creek. Washington made up his expense account from recollection, 'having lost all my papers in ye Engagement,' *i.e.*, Fort Necessity. The French publication of the journal omitted everything from April 3d to the 19th of that month. (See text, *post.*)

two Companies of Foot, commanded by Captain Peter Hog [1] and Lieutenant Jacob Van Braam,[2] five subalterns, two Sergeants, six Corporals, one Drummer, and one hundred and twenty Soldiers, one Surgeon,[3] one Swedish Gentleman,[4] who was a volunteer, two wagons guarded by one Lieutenant, Sergeant, Corporal and twenty-five Soldiers. We left Alexandria on Tuesday Noon and pitched our tents about four miles from Cameron [5] having marched six miles.

[The French version of this journal here states that from the 3d of April to the 19th Washington's original contained only the march of the troops and that they were joined by a detachment under Captain Stevens.[6]]

April 19th. Met an Express who had letters from Captain Trent, at the Ohio, demanding a reenforcement with all possible speed, as he hourly expected a body of eight hundred French. I tarried at Job Pearsall's [7] for the arrival of the troops, where they came the next day. When I received the above Express, I dispatched a messenger to Colonel Fry, to give him notice of it.

[1] Captain Peter Hog; later was appointed by Lord Dunmore Deputy Attorney-General of Dunmore, now Shenandoah County, Virginia.

[2] The same Van Braam who had accompanied Washington to Fort le Bœuf the preceding year. The responsibility for allowing Washington to sign the capitulation at Fort Necessity, which was written in French, while it contained the acknowledgment of having *murdered* Jumonville, is placed upon Van Braam. His carelessness in translating allowed the phrase, '*dans l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville*,' to pass unnoticed.

[3] Dr. James Craik.

[4] Carolus Gustavus de Spiltdorph; he later became a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment and was killed at Monongahela. (*Toner.*)

[5] Probably named in honor of Lord Fairfax, who was Baron Cameron. (See note to entry for August 5, 1768, *post.*)

[6] Captain Adam Stephen, of Berkeley County; he later became lieutenant-colonel and was present at Braddock's defeat. He was a major-general in the Revolutionary War; but was dismissed the service for drunkenness.

[7] Job Pearsal, on the South Branch of the Potomac. In all Washington received three companies of reënforcements. (*Toner.*)

April 20th. Came down to Colonel Cresap's [1] to dispose the Detachment, and on my Route, had notice that the Fort was taken by the French. Two days later that news was confirmed by Mr. Ward,[2] the Ensign of Captain Trent, who had been obliged to surrender to a Body of more than one thousand French, under the Command of Captain Contrecoeur,[3] who came from Venango (in French, Presque Isle), with sixty bateaux, and three hundred canoes, and eighteen pieces of artillery which were set up against the Fort, Contrecoeur afterwards sent him a Summons to withdraw. Mr. Ward also informed me that the Indians remained always steadfastly attached to our Interest. He brought with him two young Indians of the Mingoes Nation, that they might have the Satisfaction of seeing that we were marching with troops to their Succour. He also delivered me the following speech which the Half King [4] sent to me.

Fort on Ohio, April 18th, 1754. A speech from the Half-King, Scruneyattha, and belt of wampum, for the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania. My Brethren the English. The Bearer will let you understand in what manner the French have treated us. We waited a long time, thinking they would come

[1] Colonel Thomas Cresap, of Maryland, nearly opposite the mouth of the South Branch of the Potomac, member of the Ohio Company and one of the best-known and famous frontiersmen.

[2] Ensign Edward Ward.

[3] Captain Contrecœur took possession of the unfinished English works April 17, 1754. He completed them and named the fort Duquesne. By his orders Ensign Jumonville set off on his fatal reconnoissance, June 23d. Contrecœur was in command of Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's defeat.

[4] Tenacharison, chief of the Senecas, or Mingoes. He was called Half-King because he was not entirely independent, but owed certain allegiance to the Five Nations. He was with Washington at the Jumonville skirmish. He was an old man and seems to have died in October of this year, 1754. His speech is printed, in the French version of Washington's diary, after that of Scruneyattha's, but the text makes it evident that it should be placed before that address, and, indeed, there is no warrant for including Scruneyattha's speech at all. In all probability it was found among the papers captured at Fort Necessity and was included by the French in their publication, *Précis des Faits*, etc., in furtherance of the argument that the English were to blame for the outbreak of hostilities.

and attack us; we now see how they have a mind to use us. We are now ready to fall upon them, waiting only for your assistance. Have good courage and come as soon as possible; you will find us as ready to fight them as you are yourselves. We have sent these two young men to see if you are ready to come, and if so they are to return to us to let us know where you are, that we may come and join you. We should be glad if the troops belonging to the two Provinces could meet together at the Fort which is in the way. If you do not come to our assistance now, we are entirely undone, and I think we shall never meet together again. I speak with a heart full of grief.

A Belt of Wampum

The Half-King directed to me the following speech.

I am ready, if you think it proper, to go to both the Governors, with these two young men, for I have now no more dependence on those who have been gone so long, without returning or sending any message.

A Belt of Wampum

April 23rd. A COUNCIL OF WAR held at Will's Creek[1] in order to consult upon what must be done on account of the news brought by Mr. Ward. The News brought by Ensign Ward having been examined into, as also the summons[2] sent by Captain Contrecoeur Commander of the French troops and the speeches of the Half-king, and of the other chiefs of the Six Nations; it appears that Mr. Ward, was forced to surrender the said Fort, the 17th of this instant to the French, who were above one thousand strong and had eighteen artillery pieces, some of which were nine pounders and also that the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to one hundred and fifty men commanded by Colonel Washington had orders to reenforce the

[1] Fort Cumberland, Maryland.

[2] The text of the summons is printed in the French version, *Précis des Faits*, and also in Gaine's English translation (New York, 1757), p. 65, as a collateral document.

Company of Captain Trent, and that the aforesaid Garrison consisted only of thirty-three effective men. It was thought a thing impracticable to march towards the Fort without sufficient strength; however, being strongly invited by the Indians, and particularly by the speeches of the Half-King, the president gave his opinion that it would be proper to advance, as far as Red-Stone Creek [1] on Monongahela, about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort, and there to erect a fortification, clearing a road broad enough to pass with all our artillery and our baggage, and there to await for fresh Orders. This opinion was adopted for the following reasons: 1st. That the mouth of Red-Stone is the first convenient place on the River Monongahela. 2nd. The stores are already built at that place for the provisions of the Company,[2] wherein our Ammunition may be laid up, our great guns may be also sent by water whenever we shall think it convenient to attack the Fort. 3rd. We may easily (having all these conveniences) preserve our men from the ill consequences of inaction, and encourage the Indians our Allies, to remain in our interests. Whereupon I sent Mr. Ward to the Governor,[3] with one of the young Indians and an Interpreter: I thought proper also to acquaint the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania [4] with the news; and I sent away the other Indian to the Half-King, with the speeches enclosed in the following letter.

To the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie Esq. Governor &c. Sir,

[1] Red Stone Creek, a tributary of the Monongahela River. The Ohio Company had already erected a storehouse here which was variously known as Red Stone Fort, Hangard, and Burd's Fort. It is now Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

[2] The Ohio Company, chartered in 1749 to establish settlements of whites west of the Alleghany Mountains and to develop and manage trade with the Ohio Indians. The stockholders included Governor Dinwiddie and the most important men of Virginia.

[3] Governor Robert Dinwiddie.

[4] Governor Horatio Sharp, of Maryland, and Governor James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania.

Mr Ward, an Ensign of Captain Trent's Company is this day come from the Forks of Monongahela and has brought the sorrowful news of the surrender of the Fort on the 17th of this instant; having been summoned by Captain Contrecoeur to surrender to a body of French troops who were a thousand strong who came from Venango with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes, they permitted all our men to retire, and take with them their working tools out of the Fort, which was done the same day. Upon receiving this news I called a council of war, in order to consult what was best to be done in such circumstances; and have sent you a particular account of everything agreed upon at the said council by the same express, that you may know things yet more particularly. Mr. Ward is the bearer of the summons[1] as also of the speech from the Half-King, which I also enclose with the wampum; he is in company with one of those Indians mentioned in the speech, who had been sent to see our forces, and to know what time they might expect us; the other Indian I have sent back to the Half-King with a message.[2] I hope you will feel the absolute necessity of sending us our forces as soon as they are raised, as also a sufficient number of canoes, and other boats that can carry burden; send us also some mortar-pieces, that we may be in a condition to attack the French with equal forces. And as we are informed that the Indians of the Six Nations, and the Ottawas are coming down Scioto-Creek in order to join the French who are to meet at the Ohio; so I think it would not be amiss to invite the Cherokees, Catawbas and the Chickasaws to come to our assistance; as I have received intelligence, that there is no good understanding between them and the Indians of the Six Nations aforesaid, should you do so, it would be well to have them brought here in good order, that they might be persuaded to make a peace with the Six Nations; otherwise if they should meet at the Ohio, it might cause great disorder and turn out to our disadvantage. We find the great advantage there is in water carriage, wherefore, I would remind you to provide a number of boats for the purpose. This day, arrived the men belonging to

[1] This summons of Captain Contrecœur to Captain Trent to withdraw is dated April 16, 1754, is printed in *Mémoire Contenant le Précis des Faits*, and also in the Gaine translation (New York, 1757). Toner gives it in his *Journal of Colonel George Washington, 1754* (Albany, 1893), p. 34.

[2] See 'my answer to the speech of the Half-King,' *post*.

Captain Trent, who by your Orders had been enlisted as Militia Troops; the officers having imprudently promised them two shillings per day, they now refuse to serve for less pay. Ward shall receive your Orders on that head.

The following is my answer to the speech of the Half-King.

To the Half-King, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanese and Loups our Friends and Brethren. I received your speech by Brother Bucks who came to us with the two young men six days after their departure from you. We return you our greatest thanks and our hearts burn with love and affection towards you, in gratitude for your steadfast attachment to us, as also your friendly speech, and your wise counsels. This young man will inform you where he found a small part of our army, making towards you, clearing the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us, with our great guns, our ammunition and provisions. I cannot delay letting you know the thoughts of our hearts, I send you back this young man, with this speech, to acquaint you therewith, and the other young man I have sent to the Governor of Virginia, to deliver him your speech and your wampum, and to be an eyewitness of the preparations we are making, to come in all haste to assist you, whose interest is as dear to us as our lives. We know the character of the treacherous French, and our conduct shall plainly show you how much we have it at heart. I shall not be satisfied if I do not see you before all our forces are met together at the Fort which is in our way, wherefore, I desire with the greatest earnestness, that you and Scruneyattha, or one of you, should come as soon as possible to meet us on the road, and to assist us in council. To assure you of the sincerity of my speech, and of the good will we bear you, I present you with these strings of wampum, that you may remember how much I am your Friend and Brother. Signed Go Washington Conotocarious[1]

[1] This was the name the Indians had given to Washington. It had been bestowed by them on his great-grandfather, John Washington, the emigrant, who had been, as George was, a colonel of Virginia militia. It meant 'Devourer of Villages.' George fell heir to the title when he first became known to the Indians.

April 28th. There came to us some pieces of Cannon, which were taken up to the mouth of Patterson's River.

[The French version of this journal here states that from the 29th of April to the 11th of May Washington's original contained only the movements of the troops and matters of little consequence.]

MAY

May 11th. Detached a party of twenty-five men commanded by Captain Stevens and Ensign La Peronie [1] with orders to go to Mr. Gist's [2] to enquire where La Force [3] and his party were; and in case they were in the neighborhood to cease pursuing and retire to a safe place. I also ordered them to examine closely all the woods round about, and if they should find any Frenchman apart from the rest, to seize him and bring him to us, that we might learn what we could from him. We were exceedingly desirous to know, if there was any possibility of sending down anything by water, as also to find out some convenient place about the mouth of Red-Stone Creek where we could build a fort, they were to salute the Half-King, and send him back under a small guard, as also to enquire what were the views of the French, what they had done, and what they intended to do and to collect everything, which could give us the least intelligence.

May 12th. Marched away, and, went on rising ground where we halted to dry ourselves, for we had been obliged

[1] Later Captain William, Chevalier La Peyronie, was wounded at Fort Necessity and killed at Monongahela.

[2] Captain Christopher Gist's in the Monongahela Valley. It was generally known as Gist's New Settlement and was situated about at the geographical center of what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where Mount Braddock is now. This is the same Gist who accompanied Washington to Fort le Bœuf in 1753–54.

[3] La Force, a French subaltern officer who, the French translation of the diary says, had been sent out after deserters and that Washington knew of this from his Indian scouts. La Force afterwards, with Jumonville, was captured and sent to Williamsburg.

to ford a rapid stream, where our shortest men had water up to their arm-pits. There came an express to us with letters, acquainting us, that Col. Fry, with a detachment of one hundred men and upwards, was at Winchester and was to set out in a few days to join us; as also, that Col. Innes [1] was marching with three hundred and fifty men, raised in Carolina, that it was expected Maryland would raise two hundred men, and that Pennsylvania had raised ten thousand pounds (equal to about Fifty-two thousand five hundred livres [2]) to pay the soldiers raised in other Colonies, as that Province could furnish no recruits, as also that Governor Sherley [3] had sent 600 men to harrass the French in Canada, I hope that will give them some work to do, and will moderate their zeal in sending so many men to the Ohio as they have done.

May 16th Met two traders, who told us they fled for fear of the French as parties of them were often seen towards Mr Gist's. These traders are of opinion, as well as many others, that it is not possible to clear a road for loaded wagons to go from hence to Red-Stone Creek.

May 17th. This evening Mr. Ward arrived with the young Indian from Williamsburg and delivered me a letter, wherein the Governor is so good as to approve of my proceedings, but is much displeased with Captain Trent, and has ordered him to be tried for leaving his men at the Ohio: The Governor also informs me that Capt. Mackay,[4]

[1] Colonel James Innes, a personal friend of Governor Dinwiddie, who, after Colonel Joshua Fry's death, appointed Innes to command the expedition at the same time that he appointed Washington Colonel of the Virginia Regiment. (*Toner.*)

[2] A French interpolation.

[3] Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts, and Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North America in 1755.

[4] Captain James MacKaye or McKay. He held a commission from the King and declined to take orders from the Provincial officers, no matter how high

with an independent company of one hundred men, besides the officers, had arrived, and that we might expect them daily; and that the men from New-York would join us within ten days. This night came also two Indians from the Ohio who left the French fort five days ago; They relate that the French forces are all employed in building their Fort, that it is already breast-high, and of the thickness of twelve feet, and filled up with earth, stone, &c. They have cut down and burnt up all the trees which were about it and sown grain in their place. The Indians believe they were only 600 in number, although they say themselves they are 800: They expect a greater number in a few days, which may amount to 1,600. Then they say they can defy the English.

May 18th. The waters being yet very high, hindered me from sending forward my men and my baggage wherefore I determined to set myself in a position of defence against any immediate attack from the Enemy, and went down to observe the river.

May 19th. I despatched the young Indian who had returned with Mr Ward, to the Half-King, with the following speech.

To the Half-King, &c. My Brethren, It gives me great pleasure, to learn that you are marching to assist me with your counsels; be of good courage, my brethren, and march vigorously towards your brethren the English; for fresh forces will soon join them, who will protect you against your treacherous enemy the French. I must send My friends to you, that they acquaint you with an agreeable speech which the Governor of Virginia has sent to you: He is very sorry for the bad usage you have received. The swollen streams do not permit us to come to you quickly,

their rank. There was some slight friction of command as a result. MacKaye was present at Fort Necessity and his name was appended to the articles of capitulation ahead of Washington's.

for that reason I have sent this young man to invite you to come and meet us: he can tell you many things that he has seen in Virginia, and also how well he was received by the most prominent men; they did not treat him as the French do your people who go to their Fort; they refuse them provisions; this man has had given him all that his heart could wish; for the confirmation of all this, I here give you a Belt of Wampum.

May 20th. Embarked in a canoe with Lieut West,[1] three soldiers, and one Indian; and having followed the river along about a half a mile, were obliged to come ashore, where I met Peter Suver,[2] a Trader, who seemed to discourage me from seeking a pasage by water; that made me change my purpose of causing canoes to be made; I ordered my men to wade as the water was shallow enough, and continued myself going down the river. Now finding our canoes were too small for six men, we stopped and built a Boat; with which, together with our canoe, we reached Turkey-Foot,[3] by the beginning of the night. We met with some slight and unimportant difficulties about eight or ten miles from there, we passed some places where the water (unless it became lower than it then was) would have been deep enough to allow the passage of canoes.

May 21st. Tarried there some time to examine the place, which we found very suitable for the erection of a fort, not only because it was gravelly, but also because it was at the mouth of the three branches; and in most places there was a good tough bottom on which to build it: The plan thereof, which may be seen here is as exact as could be done without mathematical instruments. We went about

[1] Lieutenant John West, Jr., of the Virginia Regiment. He conducted the French prisoners, taken in the Jumonville skirmish, to Williamsburg. (*Toner.*)

[2] The name of Philip Sute appears among those of the earliest settlers in the Red Stone Creek region. It is possible that the French interpretation of the name made it Peter Suver.

[3] Turkey Foot, the junction of the Youghiogheny, Laurel Hill Creek, and Castelman's River. It is now called Confluence, Pennsylvania.

two miles to observe the course of the river, which is narrow, has many currents, is full of rocks and rapid; we waded it, though the water was pretty high, which leads me to think that it would not be difficult to pass it with canoes, which, however, could not readily be done without. We also found other places where the water was rapid but not so deep, and the current smoother, we easily passed over them, but afterwards we found little or scarce any bottom. There are mountains on both sides of the river. We went down the river about ten miles when at last it became so rapid as to oblige us to come ashore.[1]

[From the 22*d* to the 24*th* the journal contains only a description of the country]

May 24*th*. This morning an Indian arrived in company with one whom I had sent to the Half-King and brought me the following letter from him.

To any of his Majesty's officers whom this may Concern. As 'tis reported that the French army is set out to meet M. George Washington, I exhort you my brethren, to guard against them, for they intend to fall on the first English they meet; They have been on their march these two days, the Half-King and other chiefs will join you within five days, to hold a council, though we know not the number we shall be. I shall say no more; but remember me to my brethren the English. Signed The Half-King.[2]

I examined these young Indians in the best manner I could, concerning every circumstance, but was not much

[1] In the vicinity of what is now the Ohio-Pile Falls of the Youghiogheny River, Pennsylvania.

[2] The English translation of this letter from the Half-King is sometimes printed with poorly spelled words such as an Indian would probably use; but as it was first published in French and had to be translated into English before the awkward spelling could be discovered, the crude etymology is, doubtless, the fancy of the translator. An *exact* copy was sent by Washington in his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, May 27, 1754, but this copy was not available to the French publisher.

enlightened by them. They say there are parties of them often out, but they do not know of any considerable number coming this way. The French continue building their Fort; that part next the land is very well enclosed, but that next to the water is much neglected, at least it is without any defence. They have only nine pieces of cannon and some of them very small, and not one mounted. There are two on the point and the others some distance from the Fort on the land side. They relate that there are many sick among them, that they cannot find any Indians to guide their small parties towards our camp, these Indians having refused them. The same day at two o'clock, we arrived at the Meadows,[1] where we saw a trader, who told us that he came this morning from Mr Gist's, where he had seen two Frenchmen the night before, and that he knew there was a strong detachment on the march, which confirmed the account we had received from the Half-King; wherefore I placed troops behind two natural entrenchments, and had our wagons put there also.

May 25th. Detached a scouting party on horseback[2] to go along the roads, and sent other small parties to scour the woods. I gave the Horse-men orders to examine the country well, and endeavor to get some view of the French, of their forces, of their movements, etc. In the evening all these parties returned, without having discovered anything, though they had been pretty far towards the place whence it was said the party was coming.

[1] On the east side of Laurel Hill, in what is now Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Fort Necessity was erected here. Braddock was buried near by, and the Jumonville skirmish took place within a mile of it. Washington acquired title to 234 acres of the Meadows, including the site of Fort Necessity, in 1767, and held it during his entire lifetime. (*Toner.*)

[2] The French reads: 'Je détachai un parti à Chevert.' (*Ford.*) It is not a great stretch of imagination to interpret this as 'chevau'; the next sentence justifies this reading.

May 26th. Arrived William Jenkins;[1] Col Fry had sent him with a letter from Col. Fairfax,[2] which informed me, that the Governor himself, as also Colonels Corbin[3] and Ludwell,[4] had arrived at Winchester, and were desirous of seeing the Half-King there, whereupon I sent him word thereof.

May 27th. Mr Gist arrived early in the morning, who told us that Mr la Force, with fifty men whose tracks he had seen five miles from here, had been at his plantation the day before, towards noon, and would have killed a cow, and broken everything in the house, if two Indians, whom he had left in charge of the house, had not persuaded them from carrying out their design: I immediately detached 65 men under the command of Captain Hog, Lieutenant Mercer,[5] Ensign La Peronie, three Sergeants and three corporals, with instructions. The French had made many inquiries at Mr. Gist's, as to what had become of the Half-King? I did not fail to let several young Indians who were in our camp know that the French wanted to kill the Half-King; and it had its desired effect. They immediately offered to accompany our people to go after the French, and if they found it was true that he had been killed, or even insulted by them, one of them would promptly carry the news thereof to the Mingo village, in order to incite their warriors to fall upon them. One of these young men was detached towards Mr Gist's, and in case he should not find the Half-King there, he was to send a message by a

[1] William Jenkins, Governor Dinwiddie's express rider. (*Toner.*)

[2] The Honorable William Fairfax was then lieutenant-colonel of Fairfax County militia. (*Toner.*)

[3] The Honorable Richard Corbin, Receiver-General of Virginia and member of the Governor's Council. (*Toner.*)

[4] Colonel Philip Ludwell, of James City County. (*Toner.*)

[5] Lieutenant George Mercer, who was wounded at Monongahela and later became Stamp Agent for Virginia. He was forced to resign this office. He died in England, 1784.

Delaware. About eight in the evening I received an express from the Half-King, who informed me, that, as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the road, the tracks of two men, which he had followed, till he was brought thereby to a low obscure place; that he was of opinion the whole party of the French was hidden there. That very moment I sent out forty men and ordered my ammunition to be put in a place of safety, fearing it to be a stratagem of the French to attack our camp; I left a guard to defend it, and with the rest of my men set out in a heavy rain, and in a night as dark as pitch, along a path scarce broad enough for one man; we were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path before we could come to it again, and we would often strike against each other in the darkness: All night long we continued our route, and on the 28th about sun-rise we arrived at the Indian camp, where after having held a council with the Half-King, we concluded to attack them together; so we sent out two men to discover where they were, as also their position and what sort of ground was therabout, after which we prepared to surround them marching one after the other Indian fashion: We had advanced pretty near to them, as we thought, when they discovered us; I ordered my company to fire; my fire was supported by that of Mr. Waggoner[1] and my company and his received the whole fire of the French, during the greater part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour before the enemy were routed. We killed Mr. de Jumonville, the Commander of the party, as also nine others; we wounded one and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M la Force, M. Drouillon[2] and two cadets. The Indians scalped the dead and took away the greater part of their arms, after which

[1] Captain Thomas Waggoner. He was wounded in the Jumonville skirmish.
[2] M. Drouillon held the rank of major. The two cadets were M. de Boucherville and M. du Sablé.

we marched on with the prisoners under guard to the Indian camp, where I again held a council with the Half-King, and there informed him that the Governor was desirous to see him, and was expecting him at Winchester; he answered that he could not go just then, as his people were in too imminent danger from the French whom they had attacked; that he must send runners to all the allied nations, in order to invite them to take up the Hatchet. He sent a young Delaware Indian to the Delaware Nation and gave him also a French scalp to carry to them. This man desired to have a part of the presents which were alloted to them, but the remaining part, he said might be kept for another opportunity. He said he would go to his own family, and to several others, to bring them to Mr Gist's, whither he desired me to send men and horses to assist them in coming to our camp. After this I marched on with the prisoners. *They informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to retire.* A plausible pretence to discover our camp and to obtain knowledge of our forces and our situation! It was so clear that they had come to reconnoiter what we were, that I admired their assurance, when they told me they were come as an Embassy; their instructions were to get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and all the country as far as the Potowmack; and instead of coming as an Embassador, publicly and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought the most hidden retreats more suitable for deserters than for Embassadors; they encamped there and remained hidden for whole days together, at a distance of not more than five miles from us; they sent spies to reconnoiter our camp; the whole body turned back 2 miles; they sent the two messengers mentioned in the instructions, to inform M. de Contrecoeur of the place where we were, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to enforce the summons as soon as it

should be given. Besides, an Embassador has princely attendants, wheras this was only a simple petty French officer, an Embassador has no need of spies, his person being always sacred: and seeing their intention was so good, why did they tarry two days at five miles' distance from us without acquainting me with the summons, or at least, with something that related to the Embassy? That alone would be sufficient to excite the strongest suspicions, and we must do them the justice to say, that, as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not have picked out better places than they had done. The summons was so insolent, and savored of so much Gasconade, that if it had been brought openly by two men it would have been an excessive Indulgence to have suffered them to return.

It was the opinion of the Half-King in this case that their intentions were evil and that it was pure pretence; that they had never intended to come to us otherwise than as enemies, and if we had been such fools as to let them go they would never have helped us to take any other Frenchmen. They say they called to us as soon as they had discovered us; which is an absolute falsehood, for I was then marching at the head of the company going towards them, and can positively affirm, that, when they first saw us, they ran to their arms, without calling, as I must have heard them had they so done.

May 29th. Dispatched Ensign Towers [1] to the Half-King with about twenty-five men, and almost as many horses; as I expected that some French parties would immediately follow that which we had defeated, I sent an Express to Colonel Fry for a reenforcement. After this the French prisoners desired to speak with me, and asked me in what manner I looked upon them, whether as the attendants of an Embassador, or as prisoners of war. I answered them

[1] Ensign James Towers, of the Virginia Regiment.

that it was in the quality of the latter, and gave them my reasons for it, as above.

May 30th. Detached Lieutenant West, and Mr Spiltdorph, to take the prisoners to Winchester with a guard of twenty men. Began to erect a fort with small palisades,[1] fearing that when the French should hear the news of that defeat we might be attacked by considerable forces.

JUNE

June 1st. An Indian trader arrived here with the Half-King. They said that when Mr. de Jumonville was sent here another party had been detached towards the lower part of the river in order to take and kill all the English they should meet. We are finishing our Fort. Towards night Ensign Towers arrived with the Half-King, Aliquippa[2] and about twenty-five or thirty families, making in all about eighty to one hundred persons, including women and children. The old King being invited to come into our tents, told me that he had sent Monakatoocha[3] to Logstown with wampum, and four French scalps, which were to be sent to the Six Nations, to the Wiandots, etc. to inform them, that they had fallen upon the French and to ask their assistance to enable them to maintain the advantage gained. He also told me he had something to say at the council, but would wait till the arrival of the Shawanese, whom he expected next morning.

June 2nd. Two or three families of the Shawanese and Loups arrived: we had prayers at the Fort.

[1] Fort Necessity.

[2] Queen Aliquippa, of the Delawares. Washington had visited her on his return journey from Fort le Bœuf.

[3] Monacatoocha, or Monacatootha, an Oneida chief, previously known as Scarroyadda. He served with the English on the Braddock expedition, at whose defeat his son was killed. (*Toner.*)

June 3d. The Half-King assembled the council and informed me that he had received a speech from Grand-Chaudiere (Big Kettle) [1] in answer to the one he had sent him.

June 5th. An Indian arrived from the Ohio, who had lately been at the French Fort. This Indian confirms the news of two Traders being taken by the French, and sent to Canada, he says they have set up their palisades and enclosed their fort with exceeding large trees. There are eight Indian families on this side of the river coming to join us. He met a Frenchman who had made his escape in the time of M. de Jumonville's action; he was without either shoes or stockings, and scarce able to walk; however he let him pass, not knowing that they had been attacked.

June 6th. Mr Gist is returned, and acquaints me of the death of poor Colonel Fry, and of the safe arrival of the French prisoners at Winchester, which was the cause of great satisfaction to the Governor. I am also informed that Mr. Montour [2] is coming with a commission to command two hundred Indians. Mr. Gist met a French deserter, who assured him that there were only five hundred men when they took Mr. Ward's Fort,[3] that they were now less, fifteen men having been sent to Canada to acquaint the Governor of their success. That there were yet two hundred soldiers who were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to come and join us.

[1] Grand-Chaudière probably Canajachreesa, a Seneca chief. Charles A. Hanna's *Wilderness Trail*, I, 345, says that the Pennsylvanians translated his name as Broken Kettle and the Virginians as Big Kettle.

[2] Captain Andrew Montour, a French Huron half-breed, employed by Virginia as an interpreter. He served on the Braddock Expedition. (*Toner.*) The French called him a 'Canadian deserter.' (*Ford.*)

[3] Ward's Fort = Fort Duquesne.

June 9th. The last body of the Virginia regiment, arrived under the command of Colonel Muse,[1] and we learnt that the independent company of Carolina was arrived at Will's Creek.

June 10th. I received the regiment, and in the evening had notice, that some French were advancing towards us; whereupon I sent a party of Indians upon the scout towards Gist's, in order to discover them, and to know their number; just before night we had an alarm, but it proved false.

June 12th. Two of the men whom we had sent out yesterday upon the scout, returned; they had discovered a small party of French; the others went on as far as Stuart's.[2] Upon this advice, I thought it necessary to march with the major part of the regiment, to find out those ninety men of whom we had intelligence. Accordingly I gave orders to Colonel Muse, to put away all our baggage and ammunition, and to place them in the Fort, and to set a good guard there till my return; after which I marched at the head of one hundred and thirty men and about thirty Indians, but at the distance of half a mile I met the other Indians, who told me there were only nine deserters; whereupon I sent Mr. Montour, with some few Indians to bring them in, in safety. I caused them to be clothed, and they confirmed us in our opinion of the intention of M. de Jumonville's party; that more than one hundred soldiers were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to come and join us; that M. de Contrecoeur expected a reinforcement of four hundred men; and that these four hundred men must have arrived before the attack made on la Force; that the fort was

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel George Muse.

[2] Stuart's (or Stewart's) Crossing, on the Youghiogheny River, about one mile below the present town of Connellsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Braddock crossed here the following year. (*Toner.*)

completed; that its front and gates were protected from an attack by artillery; that there was a double palisade next to the water; that they have only eight small pieces of cannon, and know what number of men we have. They also informed us that the Delawares and Shawanese had taken up the hatchet against us; whereupon we resolved to invite those two Nations to come to a council at Mr Gist's. Sent for the purpose messengers and Wampum.

June 13th. Induced the deserters to write the following letter, to those of their companions who had an inclination to desert:[1]

June 15th. Set about clearing the roads.

June 16th. Set out for Red Stone Creek, and were extremely embarrassed, our wagons breaking very often.

June 17th. Dispatched an express to the Half-King in order to persuade him to send a message to the Loups, which he did, as I expected that he would.

June 18th. Eight Mingoes arrived from Logstown, who on their arrival told me, without delay, of a commission they had and that a council must be held. When we had assembled, they told us briefly that they had often desired to see their brethren in the field with forces, and begged us not to take it amiss, since they were amongst the French, that they complied with some of their customs, notwithstanding which they were naturally inclined to attack them, and other words to that purport. After which they said they had brought a speech with them, which they must deliver with speed. These, together with some other things, made us suspect that their intentions towards us

[1] This letter was not published by the French in the *Mémoire Contenant.*

were evil; wherefore I delayed giving them audience until the arrival of the Half-King, and desired also the Delawares to have patience till then, as I was only awaiting their arrival, which I expected would be the same day, to hold a council. After the eight Mingoes had conferred a while together, they sent me some strings of wampum, desiring me to excuse their insisting on the delivery of their speech so speedily, that they now perceived that it was proper to await the arrival of the Half-King. When the Half-King arrived I consented to give them audience. A council was held in the camp for that purpose, at which the Half-King and several of the Six Nations, Loups and Shawanese to the number of forty were present. The spokesman of the Six Nations addressed the following speech to the Governor of Virginia:

BRETHREN: We your brethren of the Six Nations are now come to acquaint you, that we have been informed that you threaten to destroy entirely all your brethren the Indians, who will not join you on the road; wherefore we who keep in our own towns, expect every day to be cut to pieces by you. We should be glad to know from your own mouth whether there be any truth in that information, and hope that you will not think it improper that we are come to inquire into it, since you well know that bad news commonly makes a much deeper impression upon us than good. That we may be fully satisfied by your answers of the truth thereof, we give you this belt of wampum. We know the French will ask us on our return, of what number our brethren are whom we went to see? Therefore we desire you, by this belt, to let us know it, as also the number of those whom you expect and at what time you expect them, and when you intend to attack the French, that we may give notice thereof to our town, and know also, what we are to tell the French.

Answer

BRETHREN: We are very glad to see you, and sorry that such reports disquiet you. The English do not intend to hurt you, or any of your allies; this report we know must have been forged by

the French, who are always treacherous, asserting the greatest falsehoods whenever they think they will turn out to their advantage; they speak well, promise fine things, but all from the lips only; whilst their heart is corrupt and full of the poison of the serpent. You have been their children and they have done everything for you, but they no sooner thought themselves strong enough than they returned to their natural pride and drove you off from your lands, declaring you had no right on the Ohio. The English, your real friends, are too generous to think of ever using the Six Nations, their faithful allies, in such a manner; after you had gone to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania they (at your repeated request) sent an army to maintain your rights; to put you again in possession of your lands, and to take care of your wives and children, to dispossess the French, to maintain your rights and to secure the whole country for you; for these very ends are the English arms now employed; it is for the safety of your wives and your children that we are fighting; and as this is the only motive of our conduct we cannot reasonably doubt of being joined by the rest of your forces to oppose the common enemy. Those who will not join us shall be answerable for whatever may be the consequence, we only desire your brethren to choose the side which seems most acceptable to them. The Indians of the Six Nations are those who have the most interest in this war, for them it is that we fight; and it would greatly trouble me to do them the least harm; we have engaged in this war to assist and protect you; our arms are open to receive you and our hands ready to feed your families during the war. The Governor of Virginia has often desired that they might be sent to him that he may see them in person, feed and clothe them according to their own desire; but as you could not decide to send them to him, we are ready to share all our provisions with you, in a friendly manner and to take such measures and give such orders that enough shall be brought to maintain your wives and children. Such conduct will evidently prove how much more the English love and esteem their faithful allies the Six Nations, than the French do; as we have drawn the sword in your cause and in your defence, hesitate no longer, delay not a moment, but put all your wives and children under our protection, and they shall find plenty of provisions; in the meanwhile set your young men and your warriors to sharpening their hatchets, to join and unite with us vigorously in our battles. The

present, my Brethren, which I offer you is not so considerable as I could wish, but I expect in a short time, a quantity of goods, which are to be at my disposal, to reward those who shall have shown themselves brave and active on this occasion; I shall, moreover recompense them most generously. Be of good Courage, my brethren, deliver your Country and secure it to your children; let me know the thoughts of your Hearts on this affair, that I may give an account of your sentiments to your great Friend and Brother, the Governor of Virginia. To assure you of my sincerity and esteem I present you this belt of wampum.

June 20th. The Council is still continued. When the Delawares learned that they were suspected of being in the French interest, they demanded the reason why they had been sent for, and what they should tell the French at their return. I answered them, it was to let them know, that we were come at their reiterated requests to aid them, with sword in hand; that we intended to put them in possession of those lands which the French had taken from them. And as they had often asked our assistance, as our ancient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and place themselves under our protection, together with their wives and children. Whereupon the Indian spokesman stretched out his blanket on the floor and laid several belts and strings of wampum thereon, in the same order he had received them from the French. This done he repeated the speeches of M. de Contrecoeur; after which the Delaware spokesman addressed the following speech to me,

BRETHREN, the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania; We your brethren of the Delawares remember perfectly well the treaty made at Logstown[1] where you and your uncles, the Six Nations, considering the bad situation we were in for want of a man to be our leader, gave us a King, and told us he should transact all public business between you and us; you charged us not to listen to every vain report, that might be spread, but to

[1] Probably the conference at Logs Town in 1752, at the instance of Governor Dinwiddie, in the interest of the Ohio Company. (*Toner.*)

consult well among ourselves and do what should seem to us right: We assure you we have given no credit to any of those reports nor ever shall; but will be guided by you, our brethren, and by our uncles the Six Nations: and will do on all occasions, what is just and right, taking advice from you alone. To assure you of the desire we have to fulfil our engagements with you, we present you with this belt of wampum.

After which they made the following speech to the Six Nations.

UNCLES, Thirteen days are now past since we received this belt from the Onondaga Council; I do not doubt that you have heard of it. They exhorted us to remember old times, when they clothed us with a robe reaching down to our heels; they afterwards told us to raise it up to our knees and there make it very fast and to come to them at the headwaters of the Susquehannah, where they had provided a place for us to live; that they had also sent a speech to those of our Nation who live near the Minnesinks,[1] inviting them to go to the place by them appointed, that they might live with us; They also sent us a speech, to give us notice that the English and French were upon the point of coming to an engagement on the Ohio river, and exhorted us to do nothing in that matter, but what was reasonable and what they would tell us themselves. Lastly they urged us to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship, which has so long subsisted between us and them, and our brethren the English. A belt of wampum. Then the Delawares spoke to the Shawanese as follows: Grandsons, by this Belt, we take you between our arms, and fetch you away from the Ohio, where you now are, to carry you amongst us, that you may live where we live, and there live in peace and quiet.

The Council then adjourned to the next morning.

June 21st. Met very early, and I spoke first to the Delawares in the following manner.

BRETHREN; By your open and generous conduct on this occasion you have made yourself dearer to us than ever; we

[1] The Minnesink Country was in what is now the State of Ohio.

return you our thanks, that you did not go to Venango, when the French first invited you there; their treating you in such a childish manner, as we perceive they do, raises in us a just and strong resentment. They call you their children, and speak to you as if you were children in reality and had no more understanding than children. Consider well my brethren, and compare all their speeches, and you will find that all it tends to, is to tell you, I am going to open your eyes, to unstop your ears and such like words to no purpose, and only proper to amuse children. You also observe brethren that if they deliver a speech, or make a promise, and confirm it with a belt, they imagine it binds them no longer than they think it consistent with their interest to stand to it. They have given one example of it; and I will point it out to you, in the leap which they say they have made over the barrier which you had set them; which ought to stir you up, my Brethren, to just anger, and cause you to embrace the favourable opportunity that we offer you, as we are come at your request, to assist you, and by means of which, you may make them leap back again with more speed than they advanced. (A string of wampum.) The French are continually telling you not to give heed to ill reports that are told you concerning them, who are your fathers. If they did not know in their very hearts, how richly they deserve it on account of their injustice to you, why should they suspect that they are accused? Why should they take so much care to forewarn you, in order to hinder you from believing what is told you concerning them? As to what they say of us, our conduct alone will answer in our behalf. Examine the truth yourselves. You know the roads leading to our habitations, you have lived amongst us, you can speak our language; but in order to refute whatever may be said against us and to assure you of our brotherly love; we once more invite your old men, your wives and your children, to take refuge under our protection and in our arms, in order to be plentifully fed, whilst your warriors and young men join with ours and espouse together the common cause. (A String of Wampum.) Brethren we thank you with all our hearts, for having declared unto us your resolution of accomplishing the engagements which you entered into at the treaty of Logstown[1] and we can do no otherwise than praise

[1] This so-called treaty of Logs Town was probably the conference held at that place in 1752 with the Shawanese, Mingo, and Delawares, at the instance of Governor Dinwiddie and in the interests of the Ohio Company. The Indians

your generous conduct with regard to your Grandsons the Shawanese; it gives us infinite pleasure. We are greatly obliged for the advice given you by Onondaga, charging you to hold fast the chain of friendship by which we are bound; I dare say, that, had he known, how nearly you were interested in this war, or that it was for love of you, and at your request, that we have taken up arms, he would have ordered you to declare and to act immediately against the common enemy of the Six Nations In order to assure you of my affection, and to confirm the truth of what I have said, I present you with two great strings of wampum.

After this the Council broke up and those treacherous devils, who had been sent by the French to act as spies, returned, though not without some stories prepared to amuse the French, which may be of service to make our own designs succeed. As they had told me there were sixteen hundred French and seven hundred Indians on the march, to reenforce those at the Garrison, I persuaded the Half-King to send three of his men to inquire into the truth of it, though I imagined this news to be only soldiers' talk; these Indians were sent secretly before the Council broke up, with orders to go to the Fort, get what information they could from all the Indians they should meet, and if there was any news worthy of the trouble one of them should return, and the other two continue their journey as far as Vanango, and around the Lake,[1] in order to obtain a perfect knowledge of everything. I also persuaded King Shingas[2] to send out rangers towards the river, to bring us news, in case any French should come; I gave him also a letter, which he was to send back again by his runners to prevent my being imposed upon by a false alarm. Though King Shingas, and others of the Delawares, could not be

confirmed, to an extent, a grant of land made by the Six Nations, west of the Alleghanies, and bound themselves not to molest white settlements on the southwest of the Ohio. (*Toner.*)

[1] Lake Erie.

[2] Shingas, Shingise, or Shingese, King or Chief of the Delawares.

persuaded to retire to our camp, with their families, owing to their fear of Onondaga's Council, they nevertheless gave us strong assurance of their assistance and directed us in what manner to act in order to obtain our desire: the method was this; we were to prepare a great war belt to invite all the warriors who would receive it, to act independently of the King and Council; and King Shingas promised to take privately the most subtle measures to make the affair succeed though they did not dare to do it openly.

The day that the Council broke up I persuaded Kaquehuston, a trusty Delaware, to carry that letter to the Fort which the French deserters had written to their comrades and gave him instructions how he should behave in his observations, upon several matters of which I spoke to him, for I feel certain the Fort may be surprised, as the French are encamped outside, and cannot keep a strict guard by reason of the works on which they are engaged. I also persuaded George, another trusty Delaware, to go and visit the Fort, a little while after Kaquehuston, and gave him proper instructions, recommending him particularly to return with speed, that we might have fresh news.

Immediately after the Council was over, notwithstanding all that Mr. Montour could do to dissuade them, the Delawares as also the Half-King, and all the other Indians returned to the Great Meadows; but though we had lost them, I still had spies of our own people, to prevent any surprise. As I was told that if I sent a belt of wampum and a speech, it might bring back the Half-King and his young men, I sent the following speech by Mr. Croghan:[1]

[1] Colonel George Croghan, Indian Agent for the Colony of Pennsylvania. Came to America from Ireland and settled on the Juniata River, above Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He was trading with the Indians as early as 1746. He learned their language, and was trusted by them. In 1754 he was employed by Governor Dinwiddie as an interpreter.

'Tis but a short time since we were assembled together; we were sent here by your brother, the Governor of Virginia, at your own request, in order to succor you and fight for your cause; wherefore my Brethren, I must require that you and your young men come to join and encamp with us, that we may be ready to receive our brother Monacotoocha, whom I daily expect; That this request may have its desired effect, and make a proper impression upon your minds, I present you with this string of wampum.

As those Indians, who were spies sent by the French, were very inquisitive and asked us many questions in order to learn by what way we proposed to go to the Fort, and at what time we expected to arrive there, I left off working any further on the road and told them that as we intended to continue it through the woods as far as the Fort, felling trees &c. that we were waiting here for the reenforcements which were coming to us, our artillery and our wagons to accompany us there; but as soon as they were gone, I set about marking out and clearing a road towards Red-Stone.

June 25th. Towards night three men from the Great Meadows came to us, amongst whom was the son of Queen Aliquippa. He brought me a letter from Mr. Croghan informing me what difficulty he had had in finding any Indians willing to come to us;[1] that the Half-King was inclined and was preparing to join us, but had received a blow which was a hindrance to it. I thought it proper to send Captain Montour to Fort Necessity, in order to try if he could persuade the Indians to come to us.

June 26th. An Indian arrived bringing news that Monocotoocha had burned his village, Logstown, and had gone by water with his people to Red-Stone, and might be

[1] The Indians did not support Washington because they had doubts, apparently, of the ability of the small force of English to defeat the French; later events showed that these doubts were justified.

expected there in two days. This Indian passed close by the Fort and assures us that the French have received no reenforcements, except a small number of Indians, who had killed, as he said, two or three of the Delawares. I did not fail to relate that piece of news to the Indians in its proper colors, and particularly to two of the Delawares who are here.

June 27th. Detached Captain Lewis,[1] Lieutenant Waggoner and Ensign Mercer,[2] two Sergeants, two Corporals, one drummer and sixty men, to endeavor to clear a road to the mouth of Red-Stone Creek, on Monongahela.[3]

[1] Captain Andrew Lewis. Served in the Braddock Expedition, was taken prisoner in Major Grant's ill-fated reconnoissance of Fort Duquesne in 1758, and was one of the Virginia Commissioners at the treaty of Fort Stanwix. He was a colonel in the Revolutionary War and died in 1781. (*Toner.*)

[2] Ensign John Mercer, brother of Captain George Mercer. He was killed by the Indians in 1756. (*Toner.*)

[3] The entry — June 27, 1754 — is the last one printed in the French publication *Mémoire Contenant*, etc., and, unless Washington's original notes are, some day, found in the French Archives, this prepared French version of his record from March 31st to June 27th, inclusive, is all we shall ever possess.

The construction of the road to Red Stone continued until June 28th when a council of war decided to call in all working parties and concentrate the force at Gist's; there to fortify against the large force of French and Indians, reported by Washington's scouts, to be preparing to march against him from Fort Duquesne. Further intelligence as to this advancing force caused another council of war to decide upon a retreat to Will's Creek. By the time Great Meadows were reached (July 1st), the troops were too exhausted to continue further, and it was decided to make a stand at Fort Necessity. The works were strengthened and, on the morning of July 3d, the French opened fire on the Fort. The engagement lasted all that day and about eight o'clock in the evening the French suggested a parley. Lack of ammunition and food compelled the capitulation. Washington marched out with the honors of war, with all his arms, flags, and baggage, to continue his march to Will's Creek, unmolested. His artillery was destroyed by the terms of the surrender, which was signed about midnight of July 3d and the English evacuated the fort at sunrise, July 4th.

1754

June 28–December 31

1755–1759

Diaries missing, or not kept.

1760

January 1–May 22

Original in Library of Congress

This year is entered in two note-book volumes, one of which is the Virginia Almanac (see List, v, 1, p. xvii), containing various miscellaneous notes which are incorporated in the printed text under their dates.

1760

JANUARY

Tuesday, 1. Visited my Plantations and receivd an Instance of Mr. French's [1] great love of Money in disappointing me of some Pork, because the price had risen to 22/6 after he had engaged to let me have it at 20/.

Calld at Mr. Possey's [2] in my way home and desird him to engage me 100 Bar'ls of Corn upon the best terms he could in Maryland.[3]

And found Mrs. Washington upon my arrival broke out with the Meazles.

Wednesday, 2*d*. Mrs. Barnes [4] who came to visit Mrs. Washington yesterday returned home in my Chariot the weather being too bad to travel in an open Carriage, which, together with Mrs. Washington's Indisposition, confined me to the House and gave me an opportunity of Posting my Books and putting them in good order.

Fearing a disappointment elsewhere in Pork I was fein to take Mr. French's upon his own terms and engaged them to be deliv'd at my House on Monday next.[5]

Thursday, 3*d*. The Weather continuing Bad and the same causes subsisting I confind myself to the House.

[1] Daniel French, of Fairfax County, son of Daniel French, of King George County; married Penelope Manly. (*Ford.*)

[2] Captain John Posey owned land and lived just below Mount Vernon. A ferry ran from his place to that of Thomas Marshall, in Maryland, now called 'Marshall Hall.' In 1765, Washington lent Posey £750 and in 1769 took over Posey's place with ferry rights, etc., in satisfaction for this loan. Afterwards the place was sometimes referred to as the 'Ferry Farm.'

[3] See under February 4, 1760.

[4] Mrs. Sarah Barnes, wife of Abraham Barnes, daughter of Colonel William Ball, of Northumberland County, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

[5] He bought 2473 pounds at 22/6, making £27. 12. 6.

Morris[1] who went to work yesterday caught cold and was laid up bad again, and several of the Family were taken with the Measles, but no bad Symptoms seemd to attend any of them.

Hauled the Sein and got some fish, but was near being disappointed of my Boat by means of an Oyster Man, who had lain at my landing and plagued me a good deal by his disorderly behaviour.

Friday, 4th. The Weather continud Drisling and Warm, and I kept the House all day. Mrs. Washington seemg. to be very ill wrote to Mr. Green[2] this afternoon desiring his Company to visit her in the Morng.

Saturday, 5th. Mrs. Washington appeard to be something better. Mr. Green however came to see her at 11 oclock and in an hour Mrs. Fairfax[3] arrivd. Mr. Green prescribd the needful, and just as we were going to Dinnr. Capt. Walter Stuart[4] appeard with Doctr. Laurie.[5]

The Evening being very cold, and the wind high, Mrs. Fairfax went home in the Chariot. Soon afterwards Mulatto Jack arrivd from Fred[eric]k with 4 Beeves.

Sunday, 6th. The Chariot not returng. time enough from Colo. Fairfax's we were prevented from Church.

[1] Israel Morris, overseer in the Dogue Run plantation; later a tenant on Washington's land in Fauquier County. (*Toner.*)

[2] The Reverend Charles Green, minister of Truro Parish, had practiced medicine before he was ordained in 1736.

[3] Sarah Cary (1730–1811), daughter of Colonel Wilson Cary, of Ceelys. Married, December 12, 1748, George William Fairfax. See *Sally Carey* (1916).

[4] He was on the unlucky advance of Major James Grant against Fort Du Quesne in 1758. Of him Washington wrote: 'Capt. Walter Stewart, the other surviving officer, distinguished himself greatly while he was able to act. He was left in the field, but made his escape afterwards.' To *Francis Fauquier*, September 25, 1758. (Ford, *Writings of Washington*, II, 100.)

[5] Dr. James Laurie, who attended all of Washington's people in the county for fifteen pounds a year. He was of Alexandria. The name is also spelled Lowrey, though never by Washington. (*Toner.*)

Mrs. Washington was a good deal better to day; but the Oyster Man still continuing his Disorderly behaviour at my Landing I was obliged in the most preemptory manner to order him and his compy. away, which he did not Incline to obey till next morning.

Monday, 7th. Accompanied Mrs. Bassett[1] to Alexandria and engaged a Keg of Butter of Mr. Kirkpatrick,[2] being quite out of that article.

Wrote from thence to Doctr. Craik[3] to endeavour, if possible, to engage me a Gardener from the Regiment[4] and returnd in the dusk of the Evening.

Tuesday, 8[*th*]. Directed an Indictment to be formd by Mr. Johnston[5] against Jno. Ballendine[6] for a fraud in some Iron he sold me.

[1] Anna Maria Dandridge (1739–77), daughter of Colonel John Dandridge, of New Kent County, and Frances Jones. She was sister of Martha Washington. Married Burwell Bassett, of Eltham. (*Ford.*)

[2] John Kirkpatrick, Washington's secretary while the latter was in command of the Virginia forces during the French and Indian War: 'I have appointed . . . Mr. Kirkpatrick, of Alexandria, my secretary; a young man, bred to business, of good education, well recommended, and a person of whose abilities I had not the least doubt.' *To Robt. Dinwiddie*, October 11, 1755. (Ford, *Writings of Washington*, I, 201.)

[3] Dr. James Craik (1730–1814). Married Marianna, daughter of Charles Ewell. He was closely associated with Washington from 1754 to 1799 and attended him in his fatal illness. (*Ford.*)

[4] Virginia militia.

[5] George Johnston, an attorney of Alexandria; his son George was one of Washington's aides during the Revolutionary War.

[6] John Ballendine, who operated an iron foundry at Occoquan. The fraud was in furnishing short weight in bar iron purchased by Washington. Washington had his steelyards carefully tested before making the claim of error. Ballendine claimed that the short weight was unintentional, but made no effort, apparently, to correct the matter, as Washington wrote the account off his books, January 1, 1765, as a loss to the value of the short weight, namely, £8. 5. 7; but that 'fraud' was an angry rather than a just word in relation to this transaction will appear from the fact that some years later (February 8, 1770) 'Mr. Jno. Ballendine dined and lodged' at Mount Vernon.

Ballendine was an interesting character; like many a man of vision a failure. Son of a sea-captain in the tobacco trade between London and the Rappahannock, he grew up in Lancaster County, Virginia, where his father had married,

Got a little Butter from Mr. Dalton,[1] and wrote to Colo. West [2] for Pork.

In the Evening 8 of Mr. French's Hogs from his Ravens-

and first appears in the records at the time of Braddock's expedition, when he commanded a sloop engaged in river trade on the Potomac. A few years later he established an iron works and the first flour mill at the falls of the Occoquan, but after ten years of effort was sold out and moved to the Little Falls of Potomac, where he maintained a sawmill. It was here that he launched that abortive plan for building a Potomac canal, by which his name is best remembered. (See Bacon-Foster, *The Potomac Route to the West*, 1912.)

[1] Captain John Dalton, partner of Carlyle & Dalton, Alexandria merchants.

[2] John West. The Wests were a family of political importance in Fairfax County in Washington's day, several of whom are recorded in the diary. The first of them to appear on the Potomac was that John West who took a conspicuous part in Parson Waugh's anti-Catholic agitation in 1689. He was later a justice of Stafford and seems to have lived until after 1705, having made that accumulation of land grants in what became Fairfax County which, plus their close-knit alliances with the Pearsons and Alexanders, gave his descendants their local political opportunity. Another John, who was a son of the first, was a member of the original Truro Vestry, as was his son Hugh in 1744.

This Hugh West, of the third generation, was living at the time of the organization of Fairfax County in the Belvoir Neck between Dogue and Accotink Runs, but he also owned a part of the lands above Hunting Creek on which Alexandria was laid out and in that relation was an original trustee of the town. He ended his life in the Assembly in 1754, having been first chosen a Burgess for Fairfax in 1752. This Hugh left several sons, namely: (1) John West, Jr., of West's Grove (on the lower road between Mount Vernon and Alexandria), who married a daughter of John Colvill, was county surveyor, and long a justice of Fairfax. George Mason mentions him in his will as an old friend. Ultimately he was elected a Burgess for the county in 1776 and as such sat in the Independence Convention of that year. He died in 1777, leaving to Washington the responsibility of administering upon the tangled affairs of the Colvill estate. (2) Hugh, a lawyer in Alexandria, who sat in the Assembly from 1756 to 1758 as a burgess for Frederick, and died in 1767. (3) George, who married a daughter of Townshend Dade and died in 1786. (4) William, who took orders, was the second parson of Fairfax Parish and subsequently removed to a Maryland parish, where he died in 1791.

The most important member of this family in Washington's day was, however, the younger brother of the elder Hugh, to-wit, the John West here described by Washington as 'Colo. West.' He first appears as a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment serving under Washington in the Great Meadows campaign of 1754. The following year he succeeded to his brother's seat in the Assembly, which he held with brief intervals until 1776. Like his nephew, he died in 1777. Always a man of local dignity, for several years at the end of his life he was the presiding justice of Fairfax. He married his cousin, Margaret Pearson, and left a son Roger, who in turn married a daughter of Washington's friend, the Dumfries merchant Allan Macrae.

The only coherent printed account of this family (*William and Mary Quarterly*, x, 65) confuses the distribution of their public service.

worth Quarter came down, one being lost on the way — as the others might as well have been for their goodness.

Nothing but the disappointments in this Article of Pork which he himself had causd and my necessities coud possibly have obligd me to take them.

Carpenter Sam was taken with the Meazles.

Wednesday, 9*th*. Killd and dressd Mr. French's Hogs, which weighd 751 lbs neat.

Colo. West leaving me in doubt about his Pork yesterday obligd me to send to him again to day, and now no definitive answr was receivd — he purposing to send his overseer down tomorrow, to agree abt it.

Colo. Bassett's Abram arrivd with Letters from his Master appointing Port Royal [1] and Monday next as a time and place to meet him. He brought some things from me that Lay in Mr. Norton's [2] Ware house in York Town.

Thursday, 10*th*. Accompanied Mrs. Bassett in a Visit to Belvoir.[3] She this day determind on setting of for Port Royal on Saturday.

Colo. West wrote me word that he had engagd his Pork. Killd the Beeves that Jack brought down two of which were tolerable good.

Friday, 11*th*. Deliverd Stephens [4] two Hogs in part of his

[1] Port Royal, in Caroline County and on the Rappahannock River, twenty-two miles below Fredericksburg. (*Ford.*)

[2] John Norton. (*Toner.*)

[3] The seat of George William Fairfax, on the right bank of the Potomac, 'within full view of Mount Vernon, and one of the most beautiful seats on the river.' (*Washington to Sir John Sinclair, December* 11, 1796.) As Fairfax did not return to America on the peace, the home, perhaps the most frequented by Washington in his early life, was broken up. The contents of the house were sold by auction in 1774 and the building leased for a term of years to the Reverend Andrew Morton. The mansion house was burned to the ground some years after and never restored. (*Ford.*)

[4] Richard Stephens, overseer. (*Toner.*)

Year's Provisions weight, 69 [and] 90, [or] 159. He had one before of 100 lbs. weight. Two Hogs were also reservd for Foster of the following weights

90		100
83		100
		97
173	which with	90
		387

that were cut out and salted makes up 719 lbs and accts. for Mr. French's 8 Hogs; showing the loss of weighing meat so soon killd, which cannot be less than 5 pr. Ct.

Saturday, 12*th*. Set out with Mrs. Bassett on her journey to Port Royal. The morning was clear and fine, but soon clouded and promisd much rain or other falling weather, which is generally the case after remarkable white Frosts as it was to day. We past Occoquan [1] without any great difficulty, notwithstanding the wind was something high and lodged at Mr. McCraes [2] in Dumfries,[3] sending the Horses to the Tavern.

Here I was informd that Colo. Cocke [4] was disgusted at my House, and left because he see an old Negroe there resembling his own Image.

[1] The creek dividing Fairfax and Prince William Counties, about twelve miles south of Mount Vernon.

[2] Allan McCrae, or Macrae, of Dumfries.

[3] Dumfries, on Quantico Creek, about four miles above its junction with the Potomac River. At one time an important entry port.

[4] Catesby Cocke (1702–*post* 1762), son of Secretary William Cocke and himself successively clerk of Stafford (prior to 1731), of Prince William (1731), and of Fairfax (1742). He long lived at Belmont on the Fairfax shore of Occoquan (where his house is indicated on Robert Brooke's Potomac map of 1737), but, having relinquished his clerkship in 1746 to his son-in-law, John Graham, went to live at Dumfries when Edward Washington acquired Belmont. There is no surviving record of Catesby Cocke's will either in Prince William or Fairfax, but a deed executed by him, under date of September 14, 1762, is in Prince William, showing that he was still living when Washington made this amusing entry in the diary.

Sunday, 13*th*. The Wind last Night chopd about from Southerly to the No. West blew extreame hard and made it excessive cold.

We reachd Mr. Seldon's [1] abt. 3 o'clock and met with a certain Capt. Dives [2] there, a Man who, as I have been informd, is pretty well known for some of his exploits, and suspected to be an Instrument in carrying Dickerson, whose Character and Memory are too well establishd to need any Commentaries.

Monday, 14*th*. The Wind at No. West, and the Morning being clear and cold, but otherwise fine, we set out — Mr. Seldon obligingly accompanying us a few miles to prevent any misapprehensions of the Road. We arrivd about 2 oclock to the Plantation [3] late Colo. Turner's,[4] but now Inhabited by an Overseer directly opposite to Port Royal.[5] At this place also Mr. Giberne [6] lodges. And here we were disagreeably disappointed of meeting him for a

[1] Samuel Selden, son of Joseph Selden, of Elizabeth City, and of Mrs. George William Fairfax's aunt, Mary Cary. Under the will of his father (1727) he had inherited the plantation on Potomac Creek in Stafford at which Washington visited him, and there he was still living in 1775 when his mother made her will. (*Hayden*, p. 63.)

[2] A sea-captain. (*Toner.*)

[3] In Ledger A is an expense item for the 14*th* at 'Allans,' which is probably the plantation noted.

[4] Washington reached the Rappahannock on this occasion at the plantation in King George of Thomas Turner, long clerk and burgess of that county, and a great favorite among the Virginia Burgesses of his generation; but then recently dead. (See his will, proved in May, 1758, in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, xx, 439.) The Turner plantation was not only, as Washington notes, opposite Port Royal, but a short distance below 'Cleve,' the seat of Charles Carter (1702–64), whither Washington, bound for Fredericksburg, went to dine the next day. Continuing his journey up the river from 'Cleve,' he lodged with John Champe, also of King George, whose son was soon to marry a daughter of Charles Carter.

[5] Port Conway was opposite Port Royal. (*Ford.*)

[6] The Reverend Isaac William Giberne, minister of Lunenburg Parish, Richmond County, 1762. He married a daughter of Moore and Margaret (Micon) Fauntleroy. (Meade, *Old Churches*, II, 179; Diary of Landon Carter, in *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIII–XXI. *Ford.*)

few hours; but at length he arrivd, almost at the same Instant that Colo. Bassett did. From hence we movd over to Port Royal and spent the Evening at Fox's [1] with Mr. and Mrs. Bassett.

Mr. Bassett brought me a Letter from Capt. Langbourn Inclosing a Bill of Lading for 20Hhds. pr. the *Deliverance*, Captn. Wm. Whyte. One other was sent by the Ship, neither of which signifying to whom the Tobo. was consignd; which is not less strange than that only two Bills shd. be given, when 4, and never less than three, is customary in war time.

The Wind freshned up as the Evening came on and causd a most intense frost; indeed no thaw had been the whole day.

Tuesday, 15*th*. Mr. Gibourne and I, leaving Mr. Bassett just ready to set out, recrossed the River and proceeded to Colo. Carter's,[2] where we dind and in the Evening reachd Colo. Champe's.[3]

Several Gentlemen dind with us at Colo. Carter's (neighbour's of his), but we spent a very lonesome Evening at Colo. Champe's, not any Body favouring us with their Company but himself.

The Morning of this day was exceeding cold, the Wind still continuing at No. West; but in the Evening it died away grew something more moderate, and promisd falling weather but no appearance of a thaw.

Wednesday, 16*th*. I parted with Mr. Gibourne, leaving Colo. Champe's before the Family was stirring, and at 10

[1] Innkeeper. (*Toner.*)

[2] Charles Carter. See note 4, p. 113.

[3] John Champe lived in King George above 'Cleve.' His son of the same name subsequently married Anne, daughter of Charles and Ann (Byrd) Carter, of 'Cleve.' His daughter, Jane, was the first wife of Samuel Washington, a brother of George. (*Ford.*)

reached my Mother's,[1] where I breakfasted and then went to Fredericksburg with my Brothr Sam,[2] who I found there.

Abt. Noon it began snowing, the Wind at So. West, but not Cold; was disappointed of seeing my Sister Lewis[3] and getting a few things which I wanted out of the Stores. Returnd in the Evening to Mother's — all alone with her.

Thursday, 17*th*. The Snow had turnd to Rain and occasiond a Sleet, the Wind at No. Et. and the Ground coverd abt. an Inch an half with Snow, The Rain continued with but little Intermission till noon and then came on a Mist which lasted till Night.

Abt. Noon I set out from my Mother's and Just at Dusk arrivd at Dumfries.

Friday, 18*th*. Continued my Journey home, the Misting continuing till noon, when the Wind got Southerly, and being very warm occasioned a great thaw. I however found Potom[ac]k River quite coverd with Ice, and Doctr. Craik at my House.

Saturday, 19*th*. The Wind got abt. to the No.ward last Night and froze the Ground hard. The Morning lowerd, and threatned Rain; but about Noon the clouds dispersd and grew warm, the Wind coming about Southerly again.

Recd. a Letter from my Overseer Hardwick,[4] informing

[1] Mary, daughter of Colonel Joseph Ball, of Epping Forest, and Mary Montague. She married, March 6, 1730–31, Augustine Washington (1694–1743), who described himself in his will as of King George County. George was the first child of this marriage. (*Ford.*)

[2] Samuel Washington (1734–81) was married five times and left five children. He inherited from his father about six hundred acres of land at Chotank, Stafford County, and one half of an estate lying on Deep Run. (*Ford.*)

[3] Elizabeth, 'Betty' Washington (1733–97), married Fielding Lewis (1725–81), son of John and Frances Lewis. (*Ford.*)

[4] Christopher Hardwick, overseer on Bullskin plantation. Letters from him are in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, and an agreement for stocking a planta-

me that the Small Pox was surrounding the Plantation's he overlookd, and requiring sundry working Tools.

Bought 4 Hogs weighing — 1 — 103, 2 — 102, 3 — 130, 4 — 108 = 442 lbs. @ 22/. and deliverd them to Richd. Stephens, wch. fully compleats his own and Son's allowance of Provision's.

Sunday, 20*th*. My Wagon, after leaving 2 Hogsheads of Tobo. at Alexandria, arrivd here with 3 sides of sole Leather and 4 of upper Leather, 2 Kegs of Butter, one of which for Colo. Fairfax and 15 Bushels of Salt which She took in at Alexandria.

Visited at Belvoir to day, carrying Doctr. Craik with us, who spent the Evening there.

The wind continued Southerly the whole day, the Ground very soft and rotten. Till 10 oclock P.M. it Raind witht. intermission, but then the Clouds dispersd and promisd fair Weather till Noon, when it again set in to Raining and continued by Intervals the whole Afternoon, being Warm.

Monday, 21*st*. Warm with Rain, the Wind at South till Noon when it veerd abt. to the No.Ward and cleard.

The Ice in the River almost gone. The Rains that fell last night, and today in some measure hardned the Ground from the Rotten condition it appeard in Yesterday.

Tuesday, 22*nd*. The Wind continued No.wardly, the weather clear and cold, the ground hard froze and the River blockd up again.

Killd 17 more Hogs which were bought of Mr. French, who was here ready to see them weighd and to receive his money. Doctr. Craik Dind here. Hogs wd. 1722 lbs nett.

tion on the Potomac River in Hampshire County, 1763, is in Ford, *Washington as an Employer and Importer of Labor*, 36.

Wednesday, 23*d*. Clear and more moderate than Yesterday — but the g[roun]d etca. still hard frozen. Abt. Noon the wind (what little blew) came Westerly and Inclining South.

My Waggon set of for Frederick with Sundry's that were wrote for by the Overseer there.

Doctr. Craik left this for Alexandria and I visited my Quarters and the Mill. According to Custom found young Stephen's[1] absent.

Thursday, 24*th*. Moderate and fine, the Wind at So. and a gradual though[1a]

Friday, 25*th*. Fine warm morning with the wind at So. till abt. 10 oclock, when it came westerly and then No. Wt. blewing exceeding hard till 3 in the afternoon.

Went to Alexandria and saw my Tobo. as it came from the Mountns. lying in an open shed, with the ends of the Hhds. out and in very bad order. Engaged the Inspection of it on Monday.

Wrote to Doctr. Ross[2] to purchase me a joiner, Bricklayer, and Gardner, if any Ship of Servants was in.[3]

Also wrote to my old Servt. Bishop[4] to return to me again, if he was not otherwise engaged. Directed for him at Phila. but no certainty of his being there.

Saturday, 26*th*. A Very white frost the ground and River hard froze. The wind at Sun Rise at No. Et., in an hour afterwards it got to South and continued there the whole

[1] Richard Stephens, Jr. (*Ford.*)

[1a] This entry was not finished.

[2] Dr. Alexander Ross. (*Toner.*)

[3] An indenture or covenant for a servant is given in Ford, *Washington as an Employer and Importer of Labor*, 76.

[4] Thomas Bishop, an Englishman who came to America with General Braddock and served Washington for nearly forty years. (*Toner.*)

day. Rode to Williamson's [1] Quarter — the overseer not there. A very remarkable circle round the Moon — another Indication of falling Weather.

Sunday, 27*th*. A high South Wind continued to blow till about 4 in the afternoon, and then it got to No. Wt. blew fresh, and grew cold.

Abt. 10 oclock it began to Rain, and continued witht. Intermission till the wind changed, and then grew clear and began to freeze.

The Southerly Wind had almost opend the River of Ice.

Monday, 28*th*. The River clos[d] again and the ground very knobby and hard.

The wind got So. about and blew fresh which allmost cleard the River of Ice.

Visited my Plantation. Severely reprimanded young Stephen's for his Indolence, and his father for suffering of it.

Found the new Negroe Cupid ill of a pleurisy at Dogue Run Quarter [2] and had him brot. home in a cart for better care of him.

Tuesday, 29*th*. White Frost, and Wind at So. till 9 oclock then No. Wt., but not very cold. Clear all day.

Darcus, daughter to Phillis, died, which makes 4 negroes lost this Winter; viz, 3 Dower Negroes namely — Beck, — appraisd to £50, Doll's Child born since, and Darcus — appd. at . . . , and Belinda, a Wench of mine, in Frederick.

Wednesday, 30*th*. Very Cloudy. Wind at So. till 9 oclock

[1] Williamson, an overseer at Muddy Hole Farm. (*Toner.*)

[2] Dogue Run Quarter, one of the negro quarters. One of the small detached buildings to the south of the Mansion House was used as a hospital. (*Toner.*)

at Night, when it instantaniously shiftd to No. West and blew a mere hurricane

Cupid was extreame Ill all this day and at night when I went to Bed I thought him within a few hours of breathing his last.

Thursday, 31*st*. He was somewhat better, the wind continued at No. West all day, very cold and clear.

FEBRUARY

Friday, 1*st*. Wind at [ ] and Snow till 9 oclock then cleard and became tolerable warm. Visited my Plantations, found Foster [1] had been absent from his charge since the 28th. Ulto. Left Order's for him to come immediately to me upon his return, and reprihended him severely.

Mr. Johnston [2] and Mr. Walter Stewart came here this afternoon.

Saturday, 2*d*. The Gentlemen went of after Breakfast and I rid out to my Plantns. and to my Carpenter's. Found Richd. Stephen's hard at Work with an ax — very extraordinary this: Desird him to see after Wm. Nation's [3] Rent, who died t'other day.

The wind for the most part was northerly yet the Day was mild, the Evening fine and promisd settled Weathr.

Mrs. Possey [4] and 2 of her children came and stayd the night here.

[1] John Foster, of Dogue Run Farm. (*Ford.*)

[2] George Johnston, whose seat was 'Belvale' on the 'back' road near the Glebe. An able lawyer, in the Assembly of 1765 he drew and seconded Patrick Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act. He was a Burgess for Fairfax from 1758 until 1766, when he died and was succeeded in that office by Washington. Johnston married a daughter of Dennis McCarty and thus was a brother-in-law of Washington's neighbor, Daniel McCarty. His son, another George Johnston, was an aide-de-camp to Washington in 1777. (*Hayden*, p. 87.)

[3] Nation's rent was 112 pounds of tobacco in arrears. He appears to have been a blacksmith. (*Ford.*)

[4] Wife of Captain John Posey. (*Toner.*)

Sunday, 3d. Very white Frost and wind shifting from So. to East.

Breechy was laid up this Morning with pains in his breast and head attended with a fever.

Mrs. Possey went home and we to Church at Alexandria:[1] dind at Colo. Carlyle's[2] and returnd in the Evening.

[1] In 1751, soon after the town of Alexandria was organized, a lottery was held to build a church there. (*William and Mary Quarterly*, XII, 74.) This was intended to be a chapel of ease of Truro Parish; that it was built appears not only from this entry in the diary, but from the record that in 1753 Parson Green was instructed by the Truro Vestry to preach in Alexandria every third Sunday. (*Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, p. 30.) The still standing Christ Church was not built until after Fairfax Parish had been carved out of Truro, to include Alexandria. The town itself came into existence with Governor Gooch's Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 (*Hening*, IV, 268), which insured the prosperity of Virginia during the golden years prior to the French War, provided that one of the inspection warehouses should be established 'at Great Hunting Creek upon Broadwater's land in Prince William County.' This was the beginning of Alexandria, for a colony of Scotsmen, factors for Glasgow tobacco houses, settled about the new warehouse and made up a community which they called 'Belhaven.' That name was adopted principally in honor of the Lord Belhaven who was the political hero of the Scottish merchant, though, doubtless, partly also as an appreciation of the harbor on which the Hunting Creek warehouse stood. Thereafter several efforts were made to secure an act of the Assembly to establish a town at Belhaven, but the Alexanders, who owned most of the land around the warehouse, resisted the effort, desiring to maintain their own monopoly. In 1749, however, the Assembly passed the act 'for erecting a town at Hunting Creek Warehouse in the County of Fairfax' (the title only is in Hening, VI, 214, but the text of the act is in the minutes of the trustees of the town as well as in the Public Record Office, London), which provided for expropriation of a town site and that it should be called Alexandria. This name was part of the compromise which secured the withdrawal of the Alexandria opposition, but 'Belhaven' long persisted in common speech, and occasionally in records, as the designation of the community, although an effort made by the resident Scots merchants in 1752 to get the Assembly to adopt it officially in lieu of Alexandria was defeated by the Alexander interest. The map division of the Library of Congress has recently acquired a plan of Alexandria drawn by Washington in 1749, which shows that that youthful surveyor had the privilege of laying off the town site.

[2] John Carlyle (1720–80) came to America about 1740, and in 1744 was at Belhaven, a merchant. His house, built in 1752, is still standing. He married Sarah, daughter of William and Sarah (Walker) Fairfax. She died in 1761. (*William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII, 1; XVIII, 219.) Letters from him are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress, and printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*. (*Ford.*)

One Newell offerd himself to me to be Overseer, put him of to another day.

Monday, *4th*. White Frost and So'ly Wind, Sometimes cloudy and sometimes clear. the Frost seemd to be getting out of the Ground.

Dispatchd Foster[1] to Occoquan to proceed from thence in Bailey's Vessel to Portobacco[2] for Barr'ls of Corn wch. Capt. Possey purchasd of Mr. Hunter[3] the Priest for my use; sent money to pay for the Corn, viz. 37 pistoles and a Shilling, each pistole weighing 4 ds. 8 gr.

Breechy's pains Increasd and he appeard extreamely ill all the day, in Suspense whether to send for Doctr. Laurie or not.

Visited my Plantations and found two Negroes sick at Williamson's Quarter, viz. Greg and Lucy; orderd them to be Blooded. Step[he]ns. at W[or]k.

Colo. Fairfax giving me notice that he should send up to Frederick in the morning; sat down and wrote to my Overseer there.

Tuesday, *5th*. Breech[y]'s Pain Increasg. and he appearing worse in other Respects inducd me to send for Dr. Laurie. Wrote to Mr. Ramsay[4] Begging the favour of him to enquire into the price of Mr. Barne's[5] Sugar Land Tract[6] and he informd me the value set on it by Mr. Barnes was £400

Visited my Plantation and found to my great surprise

[1] John Foster. This is the transaction mentioned in the diary entry January 1, 1760, *supra*. The entire charge was £40.2.8 for the corn and £5 for freight.

[2] Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland.

[3] The Reverend John Hunter, Catholic priest, near Port Tobacco. (*Toner.*)

[4] William Ramsay, regarded as 'the first projector and founder of Alexandria.' (*William and Mary Quarterly*, IV, 17. *Ford.*)

[5] Abraham Barnes of Fairfax. (*Toner.*)

[6] Sugar Land Run is a creek between Fairfax and Loudoun Counties, above the Great Falls of the Potomac. (*Ford.*)

Stephens const[an]t[ly] at Work. Greg and Lucy nothing better.

Passing by my Carpenters that were hughing I found that four of them viz. George, Tom, Mike and young Billy had only hughd 120 Foot Yesterday from 10 oclock. Sat down therefore and observd. Tom and Mike in a less space than 30 Minutes cleard the Bushes from abt. a poplar, Stocklind it 10 Foot long and hughd each their side 12 Inches deep.[1]

Then, letting them proceed their own way, they spent 25 minutes more in getting the cross cut saw standing to consider what to do, sawing the stock of in two places, putting it on the Blocks for hughing it, square lining it, etca. and from this time till they had finished the Stock entirely requird 20 Minutes more; so that in the Space of one hour and a quarter they each of them from the Stump finishd 20 Feet of hughing. from hence it appears very clear, that allowing they work only from Sun to Sun and require two hour's at Breakfast, they ought to yeld each his 125 feet while the days are at their present length and more in proportion as they Increase.

While this was doing George and Billy sawd 30 Foot of Plank, so that it appears as clear, making the same allowance as before (but not for the time requird in pilling the Stock, etca.) that they ought to saw 180 Feet of Plank.

It is to be observd here, that this hughing, and sawing likewise was of Poplr. what may be the difference therefore between the working of this Wood and other, some future observations must make known.

The Weather today was variable, often Rainy, but the Wind hung chiefly between the So. and West. no Frost last Night and the Ground vastly Rotton.

[1] A 'stock' is a tree-trunk deprived of its branches, or the lower part of a tree-trunk left standing — a stump. It is also applied to a log of wood. The word 'stocklined' is unusual. (*Ford.*)

Colo. Fairfax, his Lady, and Doctr. Laurie dind here. The Dr. went away afterwards but the others stayd the Evening.

Wednesday, 6th. Fine warm day, and the ground much dried; the wind which was extreamely little appeard to be shifting.

Colo. Fairfax and Mrs. Fairfax Dind here.

The Dr. sent his Servant down with things to Breechy, Grig came here this afternoon, worse, and I had 15 Hogs arrivd from Bullskin.[1]

Thursday, 7th. The Hogs which arrivd yesterday were killd — weighg, as follows — viz

142....	140....	140....	139	
130....	130....	110....	90	
90....	90....	90....	90	
83....	80....	70.....		
445....	440....	410....	319	Total.... 1614.

Out of which Jno. Foster recd. the remainder of his Year's Provisions, viz. 177 lbs. He had before 173, making 350, the years allow[anc]e.

Doctr. Laurie's Man attended the sick this day also.

I went to Mr. Craigs[2] Funeral Sermon at Alexandria, and there met my waggons with 4 Hhds Tobo. more. Unloaded and sent them down to Mt. Vernon.

One of the Boys that came down with them and the Hogs (Nat) was taken with the Meazles last Night.

The Wind was Southerly, and very warm and drying, but the Earth extreamely Rotton.

[1] Bullskin, the name of Washington's plantation in Frederick (later Berkeley) County. 'Feby. 9. By a Man that drove down my Hogs 10s.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Charles Craig, who rented a plantation on 'the creek,' paying Washington 750 pounds of tobacco a year. The last entry in Washington's accounts was for the year 1759. (*Ford.*)

Friday, 8*th*. The Wind had got to No. West, but as it did not blew fresh, so neither was it cold.

Rode to my Plantatns. and orderd Lucy down to H[ome] House to be Physickd.

Saturday, 9*th*. The Ground was a little crusted but not hard. A remarkable white Frost.

Visited my Plantations before Sunrise and forbid Stephen's keeping any horses upon my Expence.

Set my Waggon's to draw in Stocks and Scantling, and wrote to Mr. Stuart of Norfolk for 20 or 30 or more thous'd Shingles, 6 Barr'ls Tar, 6 of Turpentine and 100 wt. of Tallow or Myrtle wax, or half as much candles.

remarkable fine day but the wind at No. Et.

Sunday, 10*th*. The Wind got to North, and often clouded up and threatend Rain but in the Evening at Sunsetting it cleard and seemd to promise fair Weather.

Captn. Possey, and Mrs. Possey dind here, He obliqu'ly hinted a design of selling his 145 acres of Wood Land on Muddy hole.

Orderd all the Fellows from the different Quarters to assembly at Williamson's Quarter in the Morning to move Petit's [1] House.

Monday, 11*th*. Went out early myself and continued with my People till 1 oclock in which time we got the house abt. 250 yards. Was informd then that Mr. Digges [2] was at my House, upon which I ret'd finding him and Doctr. Laurie there.

The Ground being soft and Deep we found it no easy

[1] James Petit, a brickmaker employed at Mount Vernon.

[2] William Digges, of Prince George County, Maryland. Fort Washington on the Potomac, nearly opposite Mount Vernon, is on a part of the original Digges estate which was called 'Warburton.' (*Toner.*)

matter with 20 hands, 8 Horses and 6 Oxen to get this House along.

Exceeding clear and fine, wind Northwardly.

Tuesday, 12*th*. A Small Frost happening last Night to Crust the Ground causd the House to move much lighter, and by 9 oclock it was got to the spot on which it was intended to stand.

Visited at the Glebe[1] the day being very fine clear and still. no wind blowing from any Quarter perceivably.

Sett Kate and Doll to heaping the Dung abt. the Stable.

Recd. a Letter and Acct. Currt from Messrs. Hanbury,[2] the former dated Octr. 1, 1759, the other Septr. 1st, same y[ea]r.

Wednesday, 13*th*. A fresh gale at So. continued the whole day with clear and Warm Sun. Visited all my Quarters.

Thursday, 14*th*. Mr. Clifton[3] came here and we conditioned for his Land, viz. if he is not bound by some prior engagemt, I am to have all his Land in the Neck (500

[1] This refers to 'The Glebe' of Truro Parish where Parson Charles Green lived. In 1752 proposals were made for a building on the Glebe land, 'the Dwelling House to be of Brick, to contain in the Clear about 1200 Feet, one Story, and Cellars below, with convenient Rooms and Closets as the Ground will allow.' (*William and Mary Quarterly*, XIII, 7. *Ford.*)

[2] Capel and Osgood Hanbury, of London, merchants from whom Washington ordered many of his supplies. (*Ford.*)

[3] William Clifton. The land above Little Hunting Creek, which Washington acquired from Clifton in 1760, and called 'Clifton's Neck' (later his 'River Farm'), represented what was historically one of the most interesting of the Potomac land titles. Originally patented in 1653 by Captain Giles Brent, then of 'Peace' on Potomac Creek, in the name of his infant son by his wife, the Maryland Pocahontas, Mary, daughter of the Indian 'Emperor of Piscataway,' the tract was at first called 'Piscataway Neck' because it lay immediately opposite the 'Piscataway indian town in Mariland' which was long the principal landmark of the 'freshes' of the river. Passing from the younger Giles Brent to his kinsman, George Brent, of Woodstock, this estate was vested in the Cliftons, of Chotank, in 1739 after the marriage of a descendant of George Brent with one of that family.

Acres about his house excepted) and the Land commonly calld Brent's for 1600£ Curr'y. He getting Messrs. Digges, etca. to join in making me a good and suff't Title. But Note, I am not bound to Ratifie this bargain unless Colo. Carlyle will let me have his land adjoining Brent's [1] at half a Pistole an Acre.

Visited my Quarters and saw a plant patch burnt at the Mill.

Brought home 4003 lbs. of Hay from Mr. Digges's.[2]

The Southerly wind still continued to blow fresh till abt. 9 oclock at Night and then it suddenly changd to No. Et., clouded up, and threatned Rain every moment.

Friday, 15*th*. A Small fine Rain from No. Et. wet the Top of my Hay that had been landed last Night. It was all carted up however to the Barn and the wet and dry seperated.

Went to a Ball at Alexandria, where Musick and Dancing was the chief Entertainment. However in a convenient Room detachd for the purpose abounded great plenty of Bread and Butter, some Biscuits with Tea, and Coffee which the Drinkers of coud not Distinguish from Hot water sweetned. Be it rememberd that pockethandkerchiefs servd the purposes of Table Cloths and Napkins and that no Apologies were made for either.

The Proprietors of this Ball were Messrs. Carlyle, Laurie and Robt. Wilson,[3] but the Doctr. not getting it conducted agreeable to his own taste woud claim no share of the merit of it.

I shall therefore distinguish this Ball by the Stile and title of the Bread and Butter Ball.

We lodgd at Colo. Carlyle's.

[1] Henry Brent. (*Toner.*)

[2] In June he paid £14 to William Digges for hay. (*Ford.*)

[3] Robert Wilson, of Alexandria; he voted against Washington in the election of July, 1758, for Burgess from Frederick County. (*Ford.*)

Saturday, 16*th*. Returnd home, receiving an Invitation to Mrs. Chew's Ball on Monday night next, first.

The Morning lowerd, and dript as yesterday but abt. 10 oclock the Wind So.'ly blew fresh, and cleard.

Sunday 17*th*. The Wind blew cold and fresh from the No. West. Went to Church and Dind at Belvoir.

Sent 4 Yews and Lambs to the mill to be fatted.

Monday, 18*th*. Dispatchd my Waggon with Tools, etca., for Frederick. Sent over for two more Tons of Hay — to Mr. Digges.

The Morning was cold the Wind being at No. West it afterwards changd to So. and grew more moderate, but towards night it again shifted to the No. East, but made no perceptable chan[ge] in the air, as to heat or cold.

Tuesday, 19*th*. Went to Court, and administerd upon Nation['s] Effects,[1] got Mr. Smith's[2] Lease to me recorded; and Mr. Johnston not having Darrel's[3] Deede ready I was obligd to get the acknowledging of them postpond.

Recd. a Letter from my Brother, Austin[4] by Mr. Lane[5] and answerd it.

Find moderate day with a brisk Southerly Wind which brought up the Vessell with my corn.

Mike and Tom began sawing in the Pit some considerable time after Sun rise and Cut 122 feet of oak Scantling.

[1] See February 2, *ante*.

[2] Beginning in 1760, Washington paid to Thomas Smith an annual rent of 1030 pounds of tobacco for the use of a plantation in which Mrs. Smith had a dower interest.

[3] Sampson Darrell, from whom Washington purchased land which he added to the Mount Vernon estate. Darrell was sheriff of Fairfax County in 1767. (*Toner.*)

[4] Austin = Augustine, half-brother of Washington, being a son of Augustine Washington by his first wife, Jane Butler. He married Anne Aylett. (*Ford.*)

[5] James Lane; later lived in Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

Wednesday, 20. Landed 65 Barrels of corn. Fine moderate day, very little wind. George and Billy sawd 155 feet of oak Scantling.

Thursday, 21. Finished landing the Corn, which held out only 1½ Bushells above measure. Paid the Shipper for the Freight.

Visited at Mr. Clifton's[1] and rode over his Lands, but in an especial manner viewd that part calld Brent's,[2] wch. have pleas'd me exceedingly at the price he offerd it at, viz. half a pistole an Acre, provided Colo. Carlyle's 300 Acres just below it could be annexed at the same price. And this but a few months ago he offerd it at, but now seeming to set a higher value upon it, and at the same time putting on an air of indifference, inducd me to make Clifton another offer for his Land — namely, £1700 Curry. for all his Lands in the Neck Including his own plant'n, etca., which offer he readily accepted upon Condition of getting his wife to acknowledge her Right of Dower to it, and of his success in this he was to inform me in a few days.

A fresh So'ly Wind blew the whole day and often Clouds towards Night it threatned Rain very much.

Friday, 22. The Wind in the Night increased to a mere Storm and raind exceed'g hard; towards day it moderated and ceasd Raining but the whole day afterwards was Squally.

Laid in part the Worm of a fence round my Peach Orchard, and had it made. Waited on Lord Fairfax[3] at

[1] William Clifton.

[2] Henry Brent had a claim on a portion of Clifton's land. (*Toner.*)

[3] Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, of Cameron (1693–1781), second child and eldest son of Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, and Catherine Culpeper. He was proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia through inheritance of the Culpeper grants and was the only British peer resident in America during the greater part of the eighteenth century. The patron of the youthful George Washington, he has a picturesque place in American Colonial history. He was born at Leeds Castle, Kent, England, October 22, 1693 (*Bromfield Parish Register*), and died

Belvoir and eng'd him to dine at Mt. Vernon [1] on Monday next.

Upon my return found one of my best Waggon horses (namely Jolly) with his right foreleg mashd to pieces, which I suppose happend in the Storm last Night by Means of a Limb of a tree or something of that sort falling upon him. Did it up as well as I coud this night.

Saturday, 23d. Had the Horse Slung upon Canvas and his leg fresh set, following Markham's [2] directions as near as I coud.

at Greenway Court, Virginia, December 9, 1781. The notable case of Fairfax *v.* Virginia, which pended for eighteen years before the Privy Council, was precipitated, in 1730, by Virginia's effort to limit the proprietary bounds and Fairfax's counter-memorial. Lord Fairfax appointed his cousin, William Fairfax, then collector of the royal customs at Salem, Massachusetts, as his agent in America, after the death of Robert Carter, and came himself to Virginia in 1735. His view of his estates fixed his determination to live in that colony in the event of a decision in his favor by the Privy Council. This decision was rendered in 1745, and in 1747 Lord Fairfax returned from England and took up his residence at Belvoir, on the Potomac and later at Greenway Court, in Frederick County; the land of which he granted to his nephew, Thomas Bryan Martin, in 1752. It was at Belvoir that young George Washington came in contact with Lord Fairfax. It seems proper to call attention here to the unreliability of many of the statements found in the much-quoted Archdeacon Burnaby's *Travels through the Middle Settlements . . . in America in 1759 and 1760* (London, 1798).

[1] Mount Vernon, on the west bank of the Potomac River, in Fairfax County, about fourteen miles below Washington, D.C. Inherited by Lawrence Washington, half-brother of George, from his father, Augustine Washington. Lawrence devised Mount Vernon, which he named after Admiral Edward Vernon, of the British Navy, under whom he served in the Carthagena expedition, to his daughter, and if she died childless the estate was to go to George Washington. Mount Vernon thus passed into the hands of George before he was twenty-one years of age. He improved and enlarged the original building and erected others. The back of the house faces the river. The estate, at one time nearly one thousand acres in extent, is now reduced to about two hundred, to what was called the 'Mansion House Farm.' Washington divided his estate into five farms, the other four being 'Union Farm,' 'Muddy Hole Farm,' 'Dogue Run Farm,' and 'River Farm.' The present tract, including the Mansion House and the tomb, is the property of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

[2] Gervase or Jervis Markham (1568–1637), who wrote so many essays on horse-breeding and horse-racing that the booksellers of London obliged him to promise to write no more books on the treatment of the diseases of horses and cattle. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxvi, 166.) None of Markham's writings were in Washington's library, but William Gibson's *Treatise on the Diseases of Horses* (London, 1751) had been purchased in 1759, and Jacques de

Laid the Worm round my Apple Orchard and made the Fence.

The Wind for the first part was So'ly but afterwards it shifted to No. West, blew fresh and grew a little cool.

Captn. Bullet [1] came here from Alexandria, and engagd to secure me some Lands on the Ohio being lately appointed surveyor of a District there.

Sunday, 24*th*. Captn. Bullet dind here today also. So did Mr. Clifton, but the latter was able to give me no determinate answer in regard to his Land.

Was unprovided for a demand of £90 made by Mr. Alligood [2] in favour of Messrs. Atchison & Parker of Norfolk, my note of Hand to Sampson Darrel, but promisd the payment and Interest, at the April Court next.[3]

Fresh Southerly Wind and Cloudy Weather.

Monday, 25*th*. Lord Fairfax, Colo. F[airfa]x [4] and his Lady, Colo. Martin,[5] Mr. B. F[airfa]x,[6] Colo. Carlyle, and Mr. Green [7] and Mrs. Green dind here.

Solleysell's *The compleat Horseman, or perfect Farrier* (London, 1729) is in the inventory of the library. The latter is in the Washington books in the Boston Athenæum. (*Ford.*)

[1] Thomas Bullet was of the family (akin to the Footes, of Chotank and Brent Town) who lived in that part of Prince William which had in 1760 recently been included in Fauquier. He was the ancestor of the well-known Bullitt family of Kentucky, whither we here see him bound. On the surveyorship see letter of George Mercer to Washington, 1760, February 17, printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, III, 172.

[2] Jacob Alligood? (*Toner.*)

[3] It was paid April 28th. (*Ford.*)

[4] George William Fairfax.

[5] Thomas Bryan Martin (1731–98), son of Denny Martin, and Lord Fairfax's sister Frances. He was county lieutenant of Hampshire and a Burgess from that county in 1756–58 and in 1758–61 as the colleague of George Washington. He died unmarried and left Greenway Court to his housekeeper, Betsy Powers, together with one thousand acres of land surrounding it. The remainder of his large landholdings he devised to his three surviving, spinster sisters in England. Their title was fought by the State on the ground of their being aliens; but the Supreme Court upheld the will, which had been written by Gabriel Jones, and which was specially phrased to avoid such a contingency as forfeiture.

[6] Bryan Fairfax (1736–1802), first child of his father's Massachusetts wife,

[7] The Reverend Charles Green?

So'ly Wind and remarkable fine clear day. Set my People to carting and carrying Rails round the Peach Orchard.

The Broken Legd horse fell out of his Sling and by that means and struggling together hurt himself so much that I orderd him to be killd.

Tuesday, 26*th*. Began Plowing the Field by the Stable and Quarter for Oats and Clover; set two plows to work under the care of Mulatto and Cook Jacks.

Deborah Clarke, and, in consequence, a half-brother of George William Fairfax, was born August 11, 1736, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. His father vested in him about 4700 acres of land in Fauquier and he was trained as a merchant, in Barbadoes. He became a lieutenant in Captain George Mercer's company of the Virginia Regiment, and while on duty experienced a religious conviction which long after carried him into holy orders. A disappointment in love caused him to resign and start North with an intention of enlisting in one of the Northern Colonies, but his brother-in-law persuaded him to return. He then became a captain in the Fairfax militia. On the death of his father, Bryan came into possession of 5500 acres of land in the vicinity of Difficult Run, Fairfax County, which his father had called 'Towlston Grange,' after his birthplace in Yorkshire, England. Lord Fairfax deeded to Bryan, in 1765, the so-called 'Great Falls Manor' of 12,500 acres. On this land Matildaville, Loudoun County, was laid out in 1790. In the possession of nearly 30,000 acres, Bryan recovered from his early heart affliction and married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Wilson Cary, of Ceelys, and established himself at Towlston in 1759. During this period his friendship for Washington was largely developed and strengthened. His political sentiments during the dispute between the Mother Country and the Colonies placed him in opposition to the Revolution and separation. In 1777 he attempted to bring about a settlement of the trouble, and on his way to New York for that purpose was arrested at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and imprisoned. Washington immediately secured his release and allowed him to go forward into the British lines on his word of honor not to divulge anything that could be of benefit to the British. In New York he found that he could not conscientiously take the oath required by the British authorities, and he gave up his attempt to bring about an adjustment and returned to Virginia, visiting Washington, then at Valley Forge, on his way home. He lived, unmolested by the State and respected by its inhabitants, to the end of his life. He was one of the organizers of the Episcopalian Church in Virginia after the war. In 1789 he took orders and became minister in Fairfax and officiated at Christ Church, Alexandria, and the Falls Church. He resigned his ministerial duties in 1792 and retired to Mount Eagle. Bryan became eighth Lord Fairfax in 1793. His first wife died in 1778, and he married a second time, in 1780, Jane, daughter of James Donaldson, of Fairfax. He had numerous children.

Layd the Worm round my Peach Orchard and had the Fence put up.

Made an absolute agreemt with Mr. Clifton for his Land (so far as depended upon him) on the following terms, to wit; I am to give him £1150 Sterling for his Neck Lands,[1] containg 1806 acres, and to allow him the use of this Plantn. he lives on till fall twelve months.

He on his part is to procure the Gentlemen of Maryland to whom his Lands are under Mortgage to join in a Conveyance and is to put me into possession of the Land so soon as this can be done; he is not to cut down any Timber, nor clear any Ground, nor to use more wood than what shall be absolutely necessary for Fences and firing.

Neither is he to assent to any alterations of Tenants transferring of Leases, etca. but on the contrary is to discourage every practice that has a tendancy to lessen the value of the Land.

N. B. he is also to bring Mr. Mercer's[2] opinion concerning the validity of a private sale made by himself.

Went down to Occoquan, by appointment to look at Colo. Cocke's Cattle, but Mr. Peake's[3] being from home I made no agreemt. for them, not caring to give the price he askd for them.

Calld and dind at Captn. McCarty's[4] in my way home

[1] This purchase formed the River Farm of the Mount Vernon estate.

[2] George Mercer (1733–84), surveyor, lawyer, and loyalist. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII, 88; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII, 325.

[3] The first Peake on the Potomac appeared in 1668, when he had a large land grant on Potomac Creek. His descendants steadily moved up the river during several generations. Those of them who appear in the diary were William Peake and his sons who lived in the fork of Little Hunting Creek and were Washington's nearest neighbors. This William was a vestryman of Truro, 1733–44, and again, 1749–62, when he died and Washington was first elected in his place. (*Truro Vestry Book*, ed. Goodwin, pp. 7, 34.) The 'Mr. Peake' here mentioned was one of William's sons who was living in 1760 on Catesby Cocke's land on Occoquan. He may have been the Humphrey Peake who appears later in the diary.

[4] Daniel McCarty, of 'Cedar Grove' on the neck between Accotink and Pohick, next below Belvoir. He was of the Westmoreland family intermarried

and left the order of Court appointing him and others appraisers of Nation's Estate (which I had sent my Boy down for), and at the same time got a promise of him to Prize and Inspect his Tobo. at the Ware house.

Bottled 35 dozn of Cyder, the weather very warm, and cloudy with some Rain last night.

Wednesday, 27*th*. Very little Wind, and that Southerly but raind of and on the whole day.

Continued plowing while the Weather woud permit, and the People, viz. George, Kate, Doll, and little George were employd in Grubing the Field by the Garden.

Nation's horse that was destrained on for my Rent was sold at Publick Auction to Mr. Tom Triplet[1] for £5.

Peter had got his Coal drawn and brought in one Load.

Thursday, 28*th*. Measurd the Fields by the Quarter and Garden as the Fences was intended to be run and found Six Acres in the former and Nine in the Latter.

Also run Round the Fields in the Lower pasture according as the dividing Fence is to go, but the Compass being bad or some mistake happening I coud not close the plot with any exactry.

Finishd Grubbing the Field by the Garden.

Between Sunsetting and Dark, came Mr. Ramsay,[2] Mr. Piper,[3] Captn. Stanly and Captn Littledale.[4]

with the Lees, Balls, Fitzhughs, and other well-known Northern Neck families. A vestryman of Truro in 1748, as his father had been before him, he lived until 1791. His daughters married Richard Chichester and Peter Wagener, Jr., both of whom appear later in the diary. (See *Hayden*, p. 89; *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, II, 121.)

[1] Thomas Triplet, of Fairfax County. (*William and Mary Quarterly*, XXI, 35, 115. *Ford.*)

[2] William Ramsay, of Alexandria.

[3] Harry Piper, Alexandria merchant. (*Toner.*)

[4] Captains Stanley and Littledale, sea-captains of vessels plying between the West Indies and the Potomac. (*Toner.*)

Warm and little or no wind the first part of the Day — towards night it clouded and the Wind getting No. Easterly it begn raining and grew colder.

Bought 3000 Shingles a 22/6 of Newbold,[1] also wood ware and Bees Wax.

Friday, 29*th*. The Rain continued by Intervals through the Night, and till afternoon when the Wind came to No. West and ceasd, growing clear. Stopd my Plows. The Gentlemen Dind here to day: and two, viz. Mr. Ramsay and Captn. Stanley, returnd to Alexandria; the others went to Belvoir.

a very great Circle r[oun]d the Moon.

MARCH

Saturday, *Mar* 1. Finishd Bottling 91 dozn. Cyder.

The wind for the first part was No. West and very cold, but shifting Easterly and then So. it grew something warmer but continued cloudy.

The Ground being hard froze stopd my Plows this day also, and employd all hands in running the dividing fence of my Pastures.

Traversd the Fields in the Lower Pasture again and set a course for the head of the drain that Runs into my Meadow which leaves in the Tobo. House Field.

[ ] and in the other [ ]. Also found the contents of my Meadow to be [ ] and that the Pocoson[2] at Cotton Patch Point measurd [ ]. Note. The Ground cleard this year measures [ ] and the fallow Ground is only [ ]. The Marsh and Pocoson at the Creek point contains [ ].

[1] Purnell Newbold, of Maryland, as payment was made of £5.4.7½ Maryland currency, equivalent to £4.2.7½ Virginia currency. (*Ford.*)

[2] Pocoson, an Indian word, local in Virginia as meaning a low marshland. Noah Webster cites Washington as authority for the word. (*Toner.*)

Sunday, 2. The Morning calm and Serene, about 10 oclock the Wind freshned from the No. West and died away by two, at 5 it became Southerly and blew again seeming unsettled.

Mr. Clifton came here to day, and under pretence of his Wife not consenting to acknowledge her Right of Dower, wanted to disengage himself of the Bargain he had made with me for his Land on the 26th past and by his s[h]uffling behaviour on the occasion convinced me of his being the trifling body represented.

Monday, 3*d*. Bought 100 Bushels of Oats at 1/6 of Reuben Joyne.

Finishd plowing the Clover field but not the dividing Fence in the Pastures.

Wind for the most part was Southerly — some times blowing fresh and at other times quite calm, but the day was cloudy and felt cold till towards night.

Tuesday, 4*th*. Rain without Intermission till Noon. Thence, at Intervals till Night, wa[s] strong So. ly wind the whole time.

Plows stopd, but the dividing fence finishd; gave up the Horse Cart and the Dun horse and Jack to R. Stephens.

Wednesday, 5. High Wind from the West, the day clear and somewhat cold; began plowing the field by the Garden for Lucern.

put in the great bay mare, and horse King. latter coud not be prevaild upon to plow, the other did very well, but the Plows run very badly.

finishd Plow Harness for my Chariot Horses.

Thursday, 6. Fitted a two Eyed Plow Instead of a Duck

Bill Plow and with much difficulty made my Chariot wheel horses plow.

Surveyd Captn. Possey's 145 Acres of Woodland Ground which he bought of my Bro. Ch[arles] [1] and find some of the Courses and distances to vary from those in the Deeds, and that 136 Acres only are Included.

Also run the upper Courses of Frens [2] Land, and find some great Errors as may be seen by my Plot of it.

Wind Southerly and day fine.

Friday, 7*th*. Fine Morning, but cloudy afternoon, wind southerly.

put the Poll end Horses into the Plow in the Morng. and the Postillion and hand Horse in, in the afternoon, but the Ground being well swarded over and very heavy plowing I repented putting them in at all, for fear it shoud give them a Habit of Stopping in the Chariot.

Saturday, 8*th*. No. Et. Wind and Rain. Plows stop'd.

Gave Captn. Cawsey's [3] Skipper, namely William Vicars, 1 Tobo. Note, and an order on Hunting Creek Warehouses [4] for 7 Hhds. of my Mountain Tobo.

Sunday, 9. No. Et. wind, and Snow by Intervals the whole day.

Monday, 10*th*. No. W. wind and clear, but the Ground too Wet for Plowing.

Rode to my Plantation and the Mill, and there partly

[1] Charles Washington (1738–99) married Mildred Thornton of Spottsylvania. From his father he inherited land in Westmoreland County, adjoining that of Lawrence, which, later, belonged to George Washington. (*Ford.*)

[2] No plat of this land seems to have survived. (*Toner.*)

[3] Cawsey or Causey, of New Kent County, probably about twenty miles from Eltham. Vicars was a sea-captain employed by him.

[4] The official tobacco inspection warehouse at Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

agreed with Jerry Mitchell [1] to rebuild my Mill when she runs dry in the Summer.

Dispatchd Mulatto Jack to Frederick for some Mares from thence to Plow.

The Snow (which was not more than an Inch and half deep) was entirely dissolvd today.

Tuesday, 11*th*. Visited at Colo. Fairfax's and was informd that Clifton had sold his Land to Mr. Thompson Mason [2] for 1200£ Sterlg., which fully unravelled his conduct on the 2d. and convincd me that he was nothing less than a thorough pacd. Rascall, disregardful of any engagements of words or oaths not bound by Penalties.

The day clear but something cold, Wind at No. West.

Wednesday, 12. Returnd home, Mrs. Carlyle [3] accompanying us, the day being exceeding fine Wind at South.

Found William Lodwick [4] here with one Beef from Frederick. He set of with two, but lam'd the other and left him at Reid Coleman's [5] at the Sugar Lands.

Thursday, 13*th*. Incessant Rain and No. West Wind.

Mr. Carlyle (who came here from Port Tobo.[6] Court last Night) and Mrs. Carlyle were confind here all day.

[1] Jeremiah Mitchell, a millwright. (*Toner.*)

Ledger A shows that the charge for work on the mill was settled December 1, 1760, and amounted 'according to Miller Anthony's account' to ninety-seven days, at four shillings six pence a day, or £21.16.6. (*Ford.*)

[2] Thomson Mason, brother of George Mason.

[3] Sarah Carlyle, wife of John Carlyle, of Carlyle & Dalton. She was the daughter of William Fairfax, of Belvoir. (*Toner.*)

[4] An overseer. (*Toner.*)

[5] Reid Coleman kept ordinary at the crossing of the Alexandria-Vestals Gap highway over Sugar Land Run, at what is now the boundary between Fairfax and Loudoun. Washington usually stopped there when he took that route to the Shenandoah Valley.

[6] Port Tobacco, Charles County, Maryland.

Mulatto Jack returnd home with the Mares he was sent for, but so poor were they, and so much abusd had they been by my Rascally Overseer Hardwick that they were scarce able to go highlone, much less to assist in the business of the Plantations.

Friday, 14*th*. No. Et. Wind and Rain witht Intermission till afternoon — the Rain then abated, but cloud continued.

Mr. Carlyle and his wife still remaind here. We talked a good deal of a Scheme of setting up an Iron Work on Colo. Fairfax's land on Shannondoah.[1] Mr. Chapman, who was proposd as a partner, being a perfect Judge of these matters, was to go up and view the conveniences and determine the Scheme.

Saturday, 15 Snowd in the Morng but afterwards clearing Mr. Carlyle and his Wife returnd home.

Wm. Lodwick and the boy (Nat) who came down with him went up for the Lame Beef they left upon the Road coming down.

The Vast quantity of Rain which had fallen in the last

[1] George William Fairfax and his brother-in-law, John Carlyle, duly organized the Bloomery Mills to make iron on Fairfax's lands, 'Shannondale,' near Harper's Ferry, but it does not appear that Washington joined them: perhaps in consequence of his visit to the site on May 9th following.

The inventory of George William Fairfax's estate, taken in 1788, shows that he was a fourth owner, but that 'the Bloomery Mills and lands were sold by the company many years ago.' Like so many of the iron works started in eastern Virginia in the middle of the eighteenth century, the adventurers doubtless found that the available ore, while plentiful, was not suitable for economical conversion.

The 'Mr. Chapman' they contemplated taking into the company was Nathaniel Chapman, who had had long experience in iron making in the Principio Works in Maryland and later in the Accokeek Works in Virginia. For an account of the Principio Company, in which Augustine, the father of George Washington, was interested, see Henry Whitely in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XI, 63. Chapman acted as an executor of the estates of Augustine and Lawrence Washington. He died in the summer of 1760, or soon after the conversation here recorded.

two days had Swelled the Waters so high that dogue Run carried of the Tumbling Dam of my Mill and was near carrying of the House also.

Wind at No. Et. and fair from a settled Sky.

sent word to Mr. Clifton by my Negro Will that I shoud be glad to see him here in the morning having something to propose to him.

The bad weather this Week put a total stop to plowing except a little on Wednesday with one Plow.

Sunday, 16*th*. In the Morning early began Snowing with a Strong No. Et. Wind and continud without the least Intermission, or Remission till dark, and how long after I know not.

Monday, 17*th*. The Snow this Morng was much drifted, and many places of considerable depth. it kept Snowing by Intervals till Noon and appeard unsettled the whole day.

Went to my Mill and took a view of the Ruins the Fresh had causd; determmind however to rep'r it with all expedition and accordingly set my carpenters to making Wheel and Handbarrows.

Beef from Coleman's was brought down.

Mr. Possey being here and talking of the Orphan Fren's Land adjoining mine on Dogue Run, he undertook to purchase it for me of the said Orphan Diana,[1] who lives at Nangemy [2] in Maryland with one —— Wright, who I think he said married her Aunt. Mr. Possey thinks it may be bought for 50 or 60 pound and there shoud be 207 acres of it.

[1] This land was finally purchased in 1764, through Captain Posey, from William and Diana Whiting for £75. There were 210 acres in the parcel. The deeds passed June 19th.

[2] Nangemy parish was in Charles County and derived its name from a tribe of Indians — the Nanjemy — living in that region. (*Ford.*)

Tuesday, 18*th*. Cool in the morning Wind at No. West, but afterwards shifting to South grew more moderate and melted the Snow much.

Went to Court partly on my own private Business and partly on Clifton's Affair; but the Commissioners[1] not meeting, nothing was done in regard to the latter. Much discourse happend between him and I concerning his ungenerous treatment of me, the whole turning to little acct. 'Tis not worth reciting here. The result of which was that for £50 more than Mr. Mason offerd him he undertook, if possible, to disengage himself from that Gentleman and to let me have his Land. I did not think myself restrain'd by any Rules of Honour, Conscience or etca. from mak'g him this offer, as his Lands were first engagd to me by the most Solemn assurances that any Man coud give.

Mr. Johnston not being in Town I coud not get Mr. Darrel's Deed to me acknowledged

Killd the Beeves that came from Frederick.

Wednesday, 19. Cold Southerly Wind and Lowring Weather till towds. Evening when the Clouds dispersing it became more moderate.

Peter (my Smith) and I after several efforts to make a plow after a new model — partly of my own contriving[2] — was feign to give it out, at least for the present.

Snow but little dissolvd. Colo. Fairfax and Mrs. Fairfax came here in the Evening.

Thursday, 20*th*. Cold Northerly Wind. Colo. F[airfa]x and I set out to Alexa[ndria] by appointmt. to settle and adjust (with the other Comr. Clifton's and Carroll's[3]

[1] The letter from Thomas Hanson Marshall in Hamilton. *Letters to Washington*, III, 188, may refer to this negotiation. (*Ford.*)

[2] Thomas Jefferson also designed a plough, but his experiment was made after the Revolutionary War. (*Ford.*)

[3] Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the Signer. He held a mortgage on Clifton's land.

accts. conformable to a decree of our Genl Court, but not being able to accomplish it then, the 28th was a further day appointed to meet, and my house the place resolvd upon.

Friday, 21*st*. Colo. Fairfax and Mrs. F[airfa]x returnd home. The Wind being No. Easterly the morng and indeed the best half of the day was very cold and cloudy — the Wind towards Evening seemd to be getting so.ly.

Brought 47 Bushels of Wheat from my Mill.

Saturday, 22*d*. Cold Southerly Wind, and Cloudy, with Rain from 10 oclock till Night.

Doctr. Laurie came here. Agreed with George Taylor[1] for 3 Sows and Pigs, at 45/

Sunday, 23*d*. Southerly Wind and Warm. Miss Fairfax[2] and Miss Dent[3] came here.

Monday, 24*th*. Began repairing my Mill Dam, with hands from all my Quarters carpenters Included.

In digging Earth for this purpose great Quantities of Marle or Fullers Earth appeard.

In the Evening, in a Bed that had been prepard with a mixture of Dung on Saturday last, I sowed Choice Lucerne, and Rye Grass Seeds in the Garden, to try their Goodness, doing it in the following Order: at the end next the Corner were two Rows of Clover Seed; in the 3d, 4, 5, and 6th Rye Grass — the last Row thinest Sowd; 7th and 8th Barley (to see if it woud come up) — the last also

[1] George Taylor, of Fairfax County. (*Toner*.)

[2] Hannah Fairfax, the youngest sister of George William Fairfax, who continued to live with him at 'Belvoir' until 1765, when she married Warner Washington. She appears again in the diary on February 28, 1769, as 'Mr. Warner Washington and Lady.'

[3] Elizabeth Dent, who lived at Belvoir. She was the daughter or sister of Thomas Dent, long the clerk of the Northern Neck office.

thinnest Sown; 9, 10, 11, 12th. Lucerne — first a few Seeds at every 4 Inches distance, the next thicker, and so on to the last wch was very thick.

Carried the sows I bot. of George Taylor to my Mill by water.

Tuesday, 25*th*. Set one Plow to Work on the Field below the Garden.

All hands being employd on the Dam again the water was stopd and the work in a fair way of receiving a finish by tomorrow Night.

The Wind was Southerly, the Day Changeable. Mrs. Possey and some young woman whose name was unknown to any body in this family dind here.

Wednesday, 26*th*. One Plow at Work to day also.

Miss Dent and Miss Fairfax returnd home.

My Dam was entirely compleated by Evening.

Spent the greatest part of the day in making a new plow of my own Invention.

Wind at No. West and very boisterous.

Thursday, 27. Southerly Wind, day warm and very fine.

Sat my Plow to work and found she answered very well in the Field in the lower Pasture wch. I this day began Plowing with the large Bay Mare and Rankin — Mulatto Jack contin'g to Plow the Field below the Garden.

Agreed to give Mr. William Triplet[1] £18 to build the two houses in the Front of my House (plastering them also), and running walls for Pallisades to them from the

[1] William Triplet. Francis Triplet died in Fairfax in 1757, leaving several sons, of whom the two eldest, Thomas and William, appear frequently in the diary. They lived at 'Round Hill,' across the road from the Glebe. Thomas was a justice of Fairfax and served on the County Committee of Safety of 1774. William was elected to the Truro vestry in 1776, vice Washington, and served until 1785.

Great house [1] and from the Great House to the Wash House and Kitchen also.

Friday, 28. According to appointment, Colo. F[airfa]x and Mr. Green met here upon Clifton's affair, he being present as was Mr. Thompson Mason [2] (as Council for him). Mr. Digges and Mr. Addison [3] were also here, and after examining all the Papers and Accts. on both sides, and Stating them in the manner wch. seemd most equitable to Us, the Debt due from Mr. Clifton according to the settlement amounted to £[ ] that is to say,

to Mr. Carroll

to Mr. Tasker [4] pr. Mr. Digges [5]

to Do. pr. Mr. Addison —

We also agreed to report several things which appeard necessary, as well in behalf of Mr. Clifton, as the other party.

The Gentlemen from Maryland, Mr. Mason and Clifton left this, but Colo. Fairfax and Mr. Green stayd the Night.

Abt. Noon Mulatto Jack finishd plowing the Field below the Garden and went into the lower Pasture to work. Sun Shone Warm but the Wind blew strong from South.

Saturday, 29*th*. About Noon sat one Plow into the Fallow Ground below the Hill and about an hour before Sunset the other.

Fresh and variable Wind chiefly from South. Carried

[1] That is, the Mansion House.

[2] Brother of George Mason, of Gunston Hall. Lived for a time in Fairfax County; moved to Loudoun. A justice of the Virginia Supreme Court and owned land adjoining Mount Vernon. (*Toner.*)

[3] Addison of Prince George's County, Maryland. (*Toner.*)

[4] Benjamin Tasker (1690–1768), sheriff of Anne Arundel County, member of the Maryland Council from 1722 until his death and President of same for twenty-two years.

[5] Ignatius Digges, of Prince George's County, Maryland. (*Ford.*)

out about [ ] Tumbril Load of Dung from the Stable upon the Clover Field.

Sunday, 30*th*. Little Wind, but moist Weather, a misty Rain continuing at short Intervals through the day.

Monday, 31*st*. Strong So'ly Wind in the first part of the day with light showers but abt. noon the Wind got No'ly.

Went to Belvoir (according to appointment on the 28th past) and drew up and signd a Report of our Proceedings in Clifton's affair to be sent with the accts. to the Genl. Court.

Finishd plowing the Fallowd Ground abt. Sun setting.

Mr. Walter Stuart, who I met at Belvoir, gave me a Letter from Dr. Macleane[1] and another from Bishop.

The Latter very desirous of returning but enlisted in the 44th Regim't the Former wrote to Colo. Byrd[2] to ask his discharge of the Gen'l.

Wrote to Lieutt. Smith[3] to try if possible to get me a careful Man to Overlook my Carpenters. Wrote also to Hardwick ordering down two Mares from these and desiring him to engage me a Ditcher.[4] Inclosd a Letter from

[1] Served in the regiment commanded by Lieutenant-General James Abercrombie which was in America from 1758 to 1765 and returned in 1776. A surgeon, John McLean was in the 78th Regiment from 1757 and another, Donald McLean, was in the 77th from 1762. (*Ford.*)

[2] Colonel William Byrd (1728–77), of 'Westover,' on the James River, the third of that name in America. He was in command of the Virginia troops stationed at Winchester in 1760. (*Toner.*)

[3] Charles Smith, lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment, was from Prince William County. He was in the Forbes expedition. After leaving the service he settled in Frederick County. He rented land from Washington in Winchester from 1764 to 1774. (*Toner.*)

[4] Ditching was practiced at Mount Vernon to drain swamp land and for fencing. For the former ditches were sunk well below ploughing levels and filled with stone and waste timber, then brushed over and covered with earth. In fencing two shallow ditches were paralleled and the earth thrown up between; the fence or hedge was placed on top of this mound.

my Brother Jno.[1] to his Overseer Farrell Littleton, and directed him what to do if the Small pox shd. come amongst them.

MARCH

Memorandoms.[2]

21*st.* Grafted 40 Cherrys — viz: 12 Bullock Hearts — (a large black May Cherry); 18 very fine early May Cherry; 10 Carnation Cherry. And planted them as followeth: the Bullock Hearts in the first Row next the Quarter beginning at the furthest part thereof and ending at a stick. The early May next to them in the same Row and ending at another Stick, The Carnation finishing the said Row.

Also *March* 21*st.* Grafted 12 Magnum Bonum Plums beginning at the farther part of the Second Row.

Also *March* 21. Planted 4 Nuts of the Mediterranean Pine in the Pen where the Chestnut grows — sticks by each.

Note the Cherrys and Plums came from Collo. Mason's,[3] Nuts from Mr. Gr[een's].

21. Set out 55 cuttings of the Madeira Grape, viz; 31

[1] John Augustine Washington (1736–87), of Nomini, married Hannah Bushrod, of Westmoreland. One of his sons was Bushrod Washington, who became an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court and inherited from his uncle the Mount Vernon estate. He married Anne, daughter of Colonel Thomas Blackburn, of Prince William County. He had no children. From Bushrod the Mansion House and a large tract on the river descended to John Augustine, son of Corbin Washington, the brother of Bushrod.

[2] These 'Memorandoms' are entered at the back of this volume of the diary; but for uniformity are transposed and inserted here.

[3] George Mason of Gunston Hall, Fairfax County (1725–93), married Ann, daughter of Colonel William Eilbeck, of Charles County, Maryland, and, after her death, Sarah, daughter of George Brent, of Woodstock, Virginia. He was the author of the Non-Importation Resolutions of Virginia, of 1769; the Fairfax Resolutions of 1774, and the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776.

in finishing the 2d row where the Plums are, and 24 in the next beginning at the hither end — these from Mr. Green's.

22. Transplanted to the Corner of the Borders by Garden House a Cherry Graft — from the Cherry tree at the other Corner of the said Bord by the first Fall.

26. Also grafted 10 of a pretty little early (June) Pear from Collo. Mason's and planted them at the end of the Quinces, except 3 wch begins the 4th Row at the other end.

30. Grafted and planted as followeth, viz:

12 Spanish pairs from Colo. Mason. They hang till November and are a very valuable Fruit. These stand next the little early pair in the 4 Row beging with the 4th Tree in the said Row.

30. Also grafted 12 Butter pears from Collo. Mason's. These esteemed among the finest pears, and stand next the Spanish pears.

30. Grafted 10 black Pear of Worcester from Collo. Mason's next the Butter Pear. These are a large course fruit for baking.

30. Grafted 10 of the Winter Boon Ch[erries] from Collo. Mason's — who had them from Colo. Fairfax,[1] who praises them much. These begin the 5th Row next Grass Ground.

30. Grafted 8 of the Summer Boon Ch[erries] next these — from Do. who had them from Do. etca.

[1] Colonel George William Fairfax.

30. Grafted 10 of the Bergamy Pears from Collo. Mason's next the Sumr. Boon. These are a very fine Fruit but Cor[ser] than most other English Pears.

30. Grafted 10 of the New Town Pippin from Collo. Mason's who had them from Mr. Presd't Blair.[1]

30. Grafted 43 of the Maryland Red Strick. Had the Grafts from Mr. Wm. Digges.[2] These are the whole of the 6th Row.

APRIL

Tuesday, April 1. Crossd plowd the Fallow Field to day wch. contains 3–2–38 wch shews that 2 Acres a day in Level ground already broke up may be easily accomplishd.

Dr. Laurie came here.

The Wind at No. West Weather clear, somewhat cool and drying.

Moon at its first rising remarkably red.

Recd a Letter from Mr. Digges, Inclosing a Packet for Messrs. Nichos[3] and Withe[4] wch. he desired I woud send under Cover to some Friend of mine in Williamsburg as it was to go by Clifton, suspecting that Gentleman would not deal fairly by it.

Began to prepare a Small piece of Ground abt [ ] Yards Square at the lower Corner of my Garden to put

[1] John Blair (1689–1771), of Williamsburg, President of the Council, who as such was acting Governor on two occasions; between the departure of Dinwiddie and the arrival of Fauquier, and again between the death of Fauquier and the arrival of Lord Botetourt. He was a nephew of Commissary James Blair.

[2] William Digges, of 'Warburton Manor,' Prince George County, Maryland.

[3] Robert Carter Nicholas (1715–84), Burgess from James City; Judge of High Court of Chancery and Court of Appeals; Treasurer of Virginia, 1766–73.

[4] George Wythe (1726–1806), Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, 1777, and Chancellor of Virginia for twenty years. Member of the United States Constitutional Convention; died in Richmond.

Trefoil in — a little Seed given me by Colo. F[airfa]x Yesterday.

Wednesday, 2d. Got the above Ground ready for sowing tomorrow.

Began to Cross plow the first plowd Ground in the lower Pasture endeavouring to get it in order for sow'g Lucerne Seed in.

A Drying Southerly Wind and Warm.

Thursday, 3d. Sowd 17½ Drills of Trefoil Seed in the ground adjoining the Garden. numbering from the side next the Stable (or Work Shop); the residue of them, viz. 4, was sowd with Lucerne Seed — both done with design to see how these Seeds answer in that Ground.

Sowd my Fallow Field in Oats today, and harrowd them in, viz. 10½ Bushels; got done about three o'clock.

Cook Jack, after laying of the Lands in this Field, went to plowing in the 12 Acre Field, where they were Yesterday, as did the other Plow, abt. 5 oclock after Pointing.

Got several Composts and laid them to dry in order to mix with the Earth bro't from the Field below, to try their several Virtues.

Wind blew very fresh from South, Cloud often appeard, and sometimes threatned the near approach of Rain but a clear setting Sun seemd denoted the Contrary.

Friday, 4th. Sowd abt one Bushel of Barley in a piece of ground near the Tobo. House in the 12 Acre Field.

Harrowd, and cross Harrowd the Ground in the sd. Field intended for Lucerne.

Apprehending the Herring were come Hauled the Sein, but catchd only a few of them, tho a good many of other sorts.

Maj. Stewart[1] and Doctr. Johnston came here in the Afternoon, and at Night Mr. Richie,[2] attended by Mr. Ross,[3] solliciting Freight — promisd some.

Saturday, 5th. Planted out 20 young Pine trees at the head of my Cherry Walk.[4]

Recd. my Goods from York.

Hauld the Sein again, catchd 2 or 3 White Fish, more Herring than Yesterday, and a great Number of Cats.

Richie and Ross went away.

Made another Plow the same as my former, excepting that it has two eyes and the other one.

So'ly Wind but not so fresh as that wch. blew yesterday, however it blew up a little Rain abt. Dark with a good deal of Lightning and some Thunder.

Sunday, 6th. Wind at No. Et. and Cool, about 3 oclock it began Raining and continued to do so (moderately) for about an hour, when it cleard, the Wind shifting So'ly.

I just perceivd that Rye Grass Seed wch. I sowd in the Garden to try its goodness was beginning to come up pretty thick; the Clover, Lucerne, and Barley I discovered above Ground, on the first Instant.

Majr. Stewart and Doctr. Johnston set out for Winches'r.

Monday, 7th. Raind till 6 oclock pretty hard and then cleard. Wind So'ly and Cloudy all day.

In the Evening Colo. Frog[5] came here and made me an

[1] Robert Stewart. (*Toner.*)

[2] Richard Ritchie, father of Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Richmond Enquirer.* (*Toner.*)

[3] Hector Ross, merchant of Colchester, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

[4] The Cherry Walk was on the right side of the lawn, looking toward the Mansion House. (*Toner.*)

[5] John Frogg, of Fauquier, a justice of that new county, as he had been of Prince William before the division in 1759, lived on the South Branch of Broad

offer of 2400 Acres of Land wch he has in Culpeper for 400. This L[an]d lyes (according to his acct. 46 Miles above the Falls of Rappahannock, is well water'd, Timber'd and of a Fertile Soil, no Imp[rov]ements on it. I told him that I woud get Captn. Thomas Fitzhugh [1] to give me his Opinion of the Land when he went next to his Quarter not far from it, or I woud take it in my way from Fredk. when I next went up there, as it lies, he says, only 8 Miles from the place where Josh. Nevil [2] livd at the Pignut Ridge.[3]

One Captn. Kennelly [4] lives within a Mile of the Land and is well acquainted with it.

People kept Holliday.[5]

Tuesday, 8*th*. What time it began Raining in the Night I cant say, but at day break it was pouring very hard, and continued so, till 7 oclock, when a messenger came to inform me that my Mill [6] was in great danger of blowing. I immediately hurried off all hands with shovels, etca. to her assistance and got there myself just time enough to give her a reprieve for this time by wheeling dirt into the place which the water had washd.

or Occoquan in the vicinity of Fauquier Court-House (later Warrenton). The Northern Neck Grant Books show him to have acquired large landholdings there. Washington's description of the tract offered him as in Culpeper was doubtless a slip, for the identification seems to place it in Fauquier, then a new county.

[1] Thomas Fitzhugh (1725–68), of 'Boscobel,' in Stafford, son of Henry Fitzhugh, of Bedford. He had purchased a tract of the Carter holdings in Fauquier. (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VII, 425.)

[2] Joseph Neavil, then recently dead as shown by his will in Fauquier, had lived on the Winchester road in the 'thoroughfare of Cedar Run' between the Pignut and Rappahannock Mountains, in that part of Prince William which was included in Fauquier. His house, which still stands, was the 'Nevill's Ordinary' marked on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map. (*Fauquier Historical Society Bulletin*, I, 68.)

[3] A range of hills east of the crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains. (*Toner.*)

[4] John Connolly, nephew of Colonel George Croghan, generally known as Dr. John Connolly. He sided with the King in the Revolutionary War and was imprisoned by the Colonists for a long time.

[5] Easter Monday. (*Toner.*)

[6] The grist mill on Dogue Run.

While I was here a very heavy Thunder Shower came on which lasted upwards of an hour.

Here also. I tried what time the Mill requird to grind a Bushel of Corn, and to my Surprize found she was within 5 minutes of an hour about it. This old Anthony attributed to the low head of Water, but whether it was so or not I can't say; her Works all decayd and out of Order, wch. I rather take to be the cause.

This Bushel of Corn when Ground measurd near a Peck more Meal.

No. Et. Wind and Cloudy all day, towards night it dripd of Rain.

Wednesday, 9th. Wind at No. Et., very cloudy and sometimes Misty.

The Heavy Rains that had fallen in this few days past had made the Ground too wet for Plowing. I therefore set about the Fence which Incloses my Clover Field.

Doctr. Laurie came here. I may add Drunk.

Observd the Trefoil wch I sowd on the 3d. Inst. to be coming up, but in a scatt'g manner; the Lucerne wch. was sewd at the same time and in the same manner appeard much better and forwarder.

Thursday, 10th. Mrs. Washington was blooded by Doctr. Laurie, who stayd all Night.

This Morning my Plows began to work in the Clover Field, but a hard Shower of Rain from No. Et. (where the Wind hung all day) abt. 11 oclock, stopd them for the Remainder of the day. I therefore employd the hands in making two or three hauls of the Sein, and found that the Herrings were come.

Val Crawford [1] brought 4 Hhds. of my Mountain Tobo.

[1] Valentine Crawford, brother of Colonel William Crawford, moved from Frederick to Youghiogheny River and acted as agent for Washington in his Ohio lands affairs. (*Toner.*)

to the Warehouses in Alexa., two in my own Waggon, and with a Plow such as they use mostly in Frederick. Came here in the Night.

He informd me of my worthy Overseer Hardwick's lying since the 17th Ulto. in Winchester of a Broken Leg.

Friday, 11*th*. Set one Plow to Work again in the Morning, the other about 10 oclock in the Clover Field.

Tryd the new Plow brot Yesterday; found She did good Work and run Very true but heavy, rather too much so for two Horses, especially while the G[roun]d was moist.

Abt. 11 oclock set the People to Hauling the Sein and by Night and in the Night catchd and dressd [ ] Barrels of Herring and 60 White Fish.

Observd that the Flood tide was infinitely the best for these Fish.

The Wind came fresh from So. Et. the day Cool, Cloudy till Noon, but very clear promising settled Weather afterwards.

Saturday, 12*th*. Hard No. West the whole day, very clear and cool.

Haul'd the Sein but without Success; some said it was owing to the wind setting of the Shore, which seems in some Measure confirmd by the quantity we catchd yesterday when the Wind blew upon it.

About 11 oclock finishd plowing the Clover Field. Abt. 1 Mulatto Jack began harrowing it with the wide Toothd Harrow and got half over the Field by night. Cook Jack went to Plowing in the 12 Acre Field.

Perceive my Barley and Oats to be coming up very thick and well.

Engagd 150 Bushels of Oats of an Eastern Shore Man and got 40 of them Land'd before I found they were damagd.

Sunday, 13*th*. Fine clear still morng. Abt. 10 oclock the Wind (what little there was before being So.) came Easterly blew fresh and clouded — towards evening the atmosphere was quite overcast and threatned Instant Rain.

My Negroes askd the lent of the Sein today, but caught little or no Fish. Note the Wind blew upon the Shore today.

Monday, 14. Fine warm day, Wind So'ly and clear till the Even'g when it clouded; No Fish were to be catchd to day neither.

Mixd my Composts in a box with ten Apartments in the following manner, viz: in No. 1 is three pecks of the Earth brought from below the Hill out of the 46 Acre Field without any mixture; in No. 2 is two pecks of the said Earth and one of Marle taken out of the said Field, which Marle seemed a little Inclinable to Sand;

3. Has 2 Pecks of sd. Earth and 1 of Riverside Sand;
4. Has a Peck of Horse Dung;
5. Has mud taken out of the Creek;
6, Has Cow Dung;
7. Marle from the Gullys on the Hill side, wch. seeemd to be purer than the other;
8. Sheep Dung;
9. Black Mould taken out of the Pocoson on the Creek side;
10. Clay got just below the Garden.

All mixd with the same quantity and sort of Earth in the most effectual manner by reducing the whole to a tolerable degree of fineness and ju[m]bling them well together in a Cloth.

In each of these divisions were planted three grains of Wheat, 3 of Oats and as many of Barley — all at equal distances in Rows, and of equal depth (done by a machine made for the purpose).

The Wheat Rows are next the Numberd side, the Oats in the Middle and the Barley on that side next the upper part of the Garden.

Two or three hours after sowing in this manner, and about an hour before Sunset I waterd them all equally alike with water that had been standing in a Tub abt. two hours exposed to the Sun.

Began drawing Bricks, burning Lime and Preparing for Mr. Triplet who is to be here on Wednesday to work.

Finishd Harrowing the Clover Field, and began reharrowing of it. Got a new harrow made of smaller, and closer Tinings for Harrowing in Grain — the other being more proper for preparing the Ground for sowing.

Cook Jack's plow was stopd he being employd in setting the Lime Kiln.

Tuesday, 15th. Sent Tom and Mike to Alexandria in my Boat for 20 or 25 Bushels of Oats. Went up myself there to Court,[1] after calling at Mr. Green's and leaving Mrs. Washington there.

Mr. Darrell not being there, the Execution of his Deeds were again put of.

Being informd that French,[2] Triplet[3] and others were about buying (in conjunction) a piece of Land of Simon Pearson[4] lying not far from my Dogue Run Quarter, I engagd him to give me the first offer of it so soon as he shoud determine upon selling it.

[1] April 15. 'By Dinner and club at Alexandria 2*s.* 6*d.*' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Daniel French, who lived at 'Rose Hill,' west of Alexandria. He is memorable as the contractor who built the Pohick Church which still stands.

[3] William Triplet.

[4] Simon Pearson, son of Thomas Pearson, of Pearson's Island, Potomac River, below Washington, D.C. Simon sold Washington 178 acres of land in 1762. (*Toner.*) In 1797, Thomas Pearson, brother and heir to Simon, brought suit for this land, claiming invalidity of purchase. Washington's statement of the case is in his letter to Bushrod Washington, October 9, 1797, which is printed in Ford's *Writings of Washington*, XIII, 422.

About 3 oclock fell a very heavy Shower of Rain attended with much Wind at So. wch instantaneously abt. an hour by Sun changd to No. West and blew for a few minutes most violently but soon after fell calm.

Good part of my New Fencing that was not Riderd was leveld.

Wednesday, 16. My Boat which the Wind and Rain prevented from returning yesterday came home this Morning. The Wind being at North West and Fresh.

Mr. Triplet and his Brother [1] came this day to Work. Abt. 10 oclock Planted other Pine Trees in the Fencd place at the Cornr of the Garden, the first being broke, and much hurt by Creatures.

Began sowing my Clover, and got 4 Acres sowd, 14 lb. to the Acre. Harrowd it in with the fine toothd Harrow as light as I coud.

Tryd my Roller wch. find much too light.

Sowd 69 Rows more of Lucerne which makes 87 in all.

Got my Cloaths, etca., packd up for my journey to Williamsburg tomorrow.

Mr. Barnes's Davy brot home my Negroe fellow Boson, who Ran away on Monday last.[2]

Saturday, 19*th*. Crossed at Mr. Possey's Ferry and began my journey to Williamsburg about 9 oclock.[3]

[1] William and Thomas. (*Ford.*)

[2] Abram Barnes. April 18th. By Mr. Barnes's Davy, for taking up Boson 10*s*. (*Ledger A. Ford.*)

[3] This evidence that, in going to Williamsburg, Washington often found it more convenient to cross the Potomac by Posey's Ferry into Maryland and then recross by Hoe's Ferry between Cedar Point and King George County, is convincing evidence of the horrors of the 'Potomac Path' between the Occoquan and Fredericksburg. The explanation is that that road made its way through the swamps at the heads of a series of estuary creeks. All the later memoirs of travel in northern Virginia are illustrated with tales of adventure on this stretch of an ancient highway. It is, indeed, only in the latest 'motor age' that modern engineering has made it secure for the wayfarer.

Abt. 11 o' broke my chair and had to walk to Port Tobo., where I was detaind the whole day getting my Chair mended — no smith being with in 6 miles.[1] Lodg at Dr. Halkerston's.[2]

Sunday, 20*th*. Set out early, and crossd at Cedar Point[3] by 10; the day being very calm and fine. Dind and lodg at my Brother's.[4]

Monday, 21*st*. Crossd at Southern's[5] and Tod's Bridge[6] and lodgd at Major Gaine's.[7]

Tuesday, 22*d*. Crossd Pamunky at William's Ferry[8] and visited all the Plantations in New Kent; found the Overseers much behind hand in their Business. Went to Mrs. Dandridge's[9] and lodgd.

Wednesday, 23*d*. Went to Colo. Bassett's and remaind there the whole day.

Thursday, 24*th*. Visited my Quarters at Claibornes[10] and found their business in tolerable forwardness. Also went to my other Quarter at [ ] where their was an insufficient

[1] The repairs cost 7/6 and expenses at Port Tobacco 9/9. (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Dr. Halkerston, of Port Tobacco, formerly resided at Fredericksburg, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

[3] A ferry ran from Colonel Rice Hoes' land, King George County, Virginia, to Cedar Point, Maryland; it was commonly called 'Hoes' Ferry.' (*Ford.*)

[4] Samuel Washington (1734–81), third child of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, was married five times. (*Toner.*)

[5] A ferry on the Rappahannock River. (*Toner.*)

[6] Across Mattapony Creek. (*Toner.*)

[7] A farmer, living between Mattapony and the Pamunkey. (*Toner.*)

[8] April 22d. 'By expense at Mc.Graths 4/. By Ferry at Williamsons 3/6.' (*Ledger A.*) At Williams's Ferry, on the Pamunkey, two years previously, 1758, Washington met Mr. Chamberlayne, and, accepting his proffered hospitality, was introduced, at his house, to Mrs. Martha Custis. (*Toner.*)

[9] Mrs. Frances, widow of John Dandridge, and mother of Martha Washington.

[10] Claiborne's Quarters, a plantation belonging to the Custis estate on the Pamunkey River. Some of the dower negroes worked here. (*Toner.*)

quantity of Ground prepard, but all that coud be had — it was sd.

Dind at Mr. Bassett's and went in the Evening to Williamsburg.

Friday, 25th. Waited upon the Gov'r.[1]

Saturday, 26th. Visited all the Estates,[2] and my own Quarters about Williamsburg; found these also in pretty good forwardness.

Receivd Letters from Winchester informing me that the Small Pox had got among my Quarters in Frederick: determind therefore to leave Town as soon as possible and proceed up to them.

Sunday, 27th. Went to Church. In the afternoon some Rain and a great deal of severe lightning but not much Thunder.

Monday, 28th. Let my House in Town to Colo. Moore,[3] for Colo: Dandridge,[4] who is to come into it in the Fall, and pay me 45£ pr. ann. In the mean while I am to paint it.

In the Afternoon after collecting what Money I coud [5] I left Town and reached Colo. Bassett's.

This day agreed with Mr. Jno. Driver of Nansemond for 25,000 shingles to be deliverd in October. They are to be 18 Inch Shingles and of the best sort. Desird him if he coud not cause them to be deliverd for 18/ a Thousd. not to send them, but let me know of it as soon as possible.

[1] Governor Francis Fauquier.

[2] The Custis estates.

[3] Thomas Moore, of King William County. (*Toner.*)

[4] Colonel Bartholomew Dandridge, brother of Martha Washington. (*Toner.*)

[5] He collected of the County £14.4.4 on an old account and £45.16 as wages as burgess. Three days before he had received £790.4.5½ from sundry hands on Colonel Custis's estate. (*Ford.*)

Tuesday, 29th. Reachd Port Royal by Sunset.[1]

Wednesday, 30th. Came to Hoe's Ferry by 10 oclock but the Wind blew too fresh to cross: detain'd there all Night.

MAY

Thursday, 1st. Got over early in the Morning and reachd home before Dinner time, and upon inquiry found that my Clover Field was finishd sowing and Rolling the Saturday I left home — as was sowing of my Lucerne: and that on the [ ] they began sowing the last field of Oats and finishd it the 25th.

That in box No. 6, two grains of wheat appeard on the 20th, one an Inch high; on the 22d a grain of Wheat in No 7 and 9 appeard; on the 23 after a good deal of Rain the Night before some Stalks appeard in Nos. 2. 3. 4. 5. and 6, but the Ground was so hard bakd by the drying winds when I came home that it was difficult to say which Nos. lookd most thriving. However in

No. 1	there was nothing come up;		
2.....	2 Oats.....		1 barley;
3.....	1 Oat.....		2 barley;
4.....	1 Oat;		
5.....	1 Wheat	2 Oats;	
6.....	1 Do.	3 Do.....	1 Do.
7.....	1 Do.	2 Do.....	2 Do.
8.....	1 Do.	1 Do.	
9.....	2 Do.	3 Do.....	2 Do.
10.....			1 Do.

The two Grains in No. 8 were I think rather the strongest, but upon the whole No. 9 was the best.

[1] On the 29th he crossed by Dansie's Ferry and baited at Todd's. In 1754 Thomas Dansie had obtained the privilege of operating a ferry from New Kent County to King William County, near Claiborne's Ferry. (*Ford.*)

Friday, 2. Cold, and strong westerly Winds. My English Horse coverd the great bay Mare.

Saturday, 3*d*. Wind got Southerly, but blew fresh and Cool. The Stallion coverd Ranken, and afterwards breaking out of his pasture coverd the great bay Mare again.

Sunday, 4*th*. Warm and fine. Set out for Frederick to see my Negroes that lay ill of the Small Pox. Took Church in my way to Coleman's,[1] where I arrivd about Sun setting.

Monday, 5*th*. Reachd Mr. Stephenson[2] in Frederick abt. 4 oclock, just time enough to see Richd. Mounts[3] Interrd. Here I was informd that Harry and Kit, the two first of my Negroes that took the Small Pox, were Dead, and Roger and Phillis the only two down with it were recovering from it.

Lodged at Mr. Stephenson.

Tuesday, 6. Visited my Brother's Quarter,[4] and just call'd at my own in my way to Winchester, where I spent the day and Evening with Colo. Byrd, etca.

The Court was held to Day at Stephen's Town,[5] but adjourned to Winchester tomorrow.

Wednesday, 7. After taking the Doc'rs Directions in regard to my People, I set out for my Quarters and got there abt. 12 oclock — time enough to go over them and find everything in the utmost confusion disorder and

[1] Reid Coleman's ordinary at the so-called Sugar Lands, east of the Blue Ridge.

[2] Richard Stephenson, of Frederick County, Virginia, half-brother to Colonel William Crawford. At one time acted as overseer for Washington. (*Toner.*)

[3] Overseer employed by Washington. (*Toner.*)

[4] Samuel Washington.

[5] Stephen's Town, eight miles south of Winchester. (*Toner.*)

backwardness, my Overseer [Hardwick] lying upon his back of a broken leg, and not half a Crop, especially of Corn Ground, prepared.

Engagd Vall. Crawford to go in pursuit of a Nurse to be ready in case more of my People shd. be seizd with the same disorder.

Thursday, 8*th*. Got Blankets and every other requisite from Winchester and settld things upon the best footing I coud to prevt. the Small Pox from spreading, and in case of its spreading, for the care of the Negroes.

Mr. Vall Crawford agreeing in case any more of the People at the lower Quarter getting it, to take them home in his House, and if any more at the upper Quarter gets it, to have them removd into my Room and the Nurse sent for.

Friday, 9*th*. Set out on my return home. The Morning drizzling a little. Calld at the Bloomery and got Mr. Wm. Crawford [1] to shew me the place that has been so often talkd of for erecting an Iron Work upon.[2]

The Convenience of Water is great. First it may be taken out of the River into a Canal and a considerable Fall obtaind, and then a Run comes from the Mountain on which the largest fall may be got with Small Labour and expence. But of the constancy of this Stream I know nothing, nor coud Crawford tell me. I saw none of the Ore, but all People agree that there is an inexhaustable fund of that that is rich. But wood seems an obstacle; not but that there is enough of it, but the G[roun]d is so hilly

[1] Colonel William Crawford (1732–82). Helped Washington in his early surveys, as chain bearer; settled at the great crossing of the Youghiogeny River and acted as agent and surveyor for Washington's western lands. He was captured by the Wyandots and Delaware Indians in 1782 and burned at the stake.

[2] In September, 1760, he paid Fielding Lewis £5, 'on account of Iron Work Scheme.' Bloomery church was about 4 miles from the forks of Cacapon.

and rugged as not to admit of making Coal or transporting it.

I did not examine the place so accurately my self as to be a competent judge of this matter and Mr. Crawford says there will be no difficulty in the case.

Reachd Coleman's.

Saturday, 10. Arrivd at home abt. 10 oclock where I found my Brother Jno., and was told that my great Chestnut folded a Horse Colt on the Instt. and that my Young Peach trees were we[ede]'d according to order.

The Oats, and in short everything else seemd quite at a stand, from the dryness of the Earth, which was remarkably so, partly for want of Rain, and partly by the constant drying Winds which have blown for sometime past.

Sunday, 11*th*. Mrs. Washington went to Church.

My black pacing Mare was twice Coverd.

Proposd a purchase of some Lands which Col. F[airfa]x has at the Mouth of the Warm Spring Run join'g Barwick's bottom. He promisd me the preference if he shd. sell, but is not inclind to do it at prest.

Monday, 12*th*. Fine Rain began in the Morning and continued by Intervals all day.

Sent Cook Jack and my Horses to get in Stephen's Corn.

Black Mare was coverd again today. Mr. Alexander[1] sent a Mare but she refusd the Horse.

Tuesday, 13*th*. Cloudy with some slight Showers of Rain. People all working at Muddy hole getting in Stephen's Corn.

My Brother Jno. returnd from Difficult.[2]

[1] Robert Alexander, of Prince William County.

[2] Difficult Run, in Loudoun County, empties into the Potomac River below

Wednesday, 14*th*. Wind at No. Wt. fresh and drying. Visited at Belvoir.

People and Plows at Muddy hole.

Thursday, 15*th*. Drying Winds. People at Muddy hole again.

Friday, 16*th*. Still Cool and Windy — my People yet continuing at Muddy hole. My Brother Jno. left this, and I got Nation's Estate Appraisd by Messrs. McCarty, Barry[1] and Triplet — as follows, viz.

One old Gun and Lock....	7–6
1 Small Bell.....	2–6
1 Suit of Cloaths, viz. a Coat Waist't Breechs Shirt, Hat, Shoes & Garters.....	10
A Small Parcel of Leather.	1

Saturday, 17*th*. Mulatto Jack returnd from King William with 3 Yoke of Oxen and lost Punch the Horse he rid.

Sent up 16 Hydes to Mr. Adam's at Alexa.[2] viz, 12 large and 4 Small ones to be Tan'd. Brought a Pipe of Wine from there wch Captn. McKee[3] brought from Madeira, and a chest of Lemons and some other trifles.

Began weeding my Trefoil below the Hill.

The Great Bay was coverd. Got an acct. that the Assembly was to meet on Monday; resolvd to set of to morrow.[4]

Great Falls. In 1760 or 1761 Washington purchased of Bryan Fairfax 275 acres of land on Difficult Run, paying for them £82.10. (*Ledger A.*)

[1] William Barry.

[2] Robert Adam, Alexandria merchant (1731–89). Came to America from Scotland in 1753. (*Toner.*)

[3] Sea captain, in the West India trade; afterwards settled in St. Mary's County, Maryland. (*Toner.*)

[4] The Virginia Assembly met May 19th and remained in session until the 24th. The special cause for meeting was sending aid to Fort Loudoun, in the overhill

Sunday, 18*th*. Set out in Company with Mr. George Johnston.[1] At Colchester [2] was informd by Colo. Thornton [3] and Chissel [4] that the Assembly wd. be broke up before I coud get down; turnd back therefore and found Colo. Fairfax and his Family, and that Lightning wch. had attended a good deal of Rain has struck my Quarter and near 10 Negroes in it, some very bad; but with letting Blood they recoverd.

Monday, 19*th*. Went to Alexandria to see Captn. Littledale's Ship Launchd, wch. went of extreamely well. This day was attended with slight shower's. Colo. F[airfa]x had a Mare coverd; so had Captn Dalton.

Tuesday, 20. Being Court day, Mr. Clifton's Land in the Neck was exposd to Sale, and I bought it for £1210 Sterlg, and under many threats and disadvantages paid the Money into the Comrs. hands and returnd home at Night with Col. Fairfax and Fam'y Captn. Dalton's Dun Mare again coverd.

Wednesday, 21. Wrote to Messrs. Nicholas & With [5] for Advice how to act in regard to Clifton's Land.[6] Sent the Letter by the Post.

Cherokee country, threatened by the Indians. (*Journals*, May Session, 1760.) Washington was a Burgess from Frederick County, with Thomas Bryan Martin as colleague. (*Ford.*)

[1] Johnston was one of the Burgesses from Fairfax County, with George Mason of Gunston Hall, as colleague.

[2] Eight miles below Mount Vernon, in Prince William County.

[3] Colonel John Thornton, a Burgess of Spotsylvania. (*Toner.*)

[4] John Chiswell, who had been Burgess from Hanover and clerk of the County Court. (*Ford.*)

[5] Robert Carter Nicholas and George Wythe.

[6] Washington paid £1210 sterling by bills of exchange drawn on his London factors, Robert Cary & Co. He also paid in the same manner £364.19 to John Addison and £304.15.3 to settle their interests in the property. George Mercer put in a claim for £266.0.6. Virginia money, which Washington paid, and other charges by Clifton increased it to £346.7, or £247.7.10 sterling at the then

Colo. Fairfax went home. Began shearing my Sheep. Dalton's sorrel Mare coverd.

Thursday, 22*d*. Continued Shearing my Sheep. A good deal of Rain at Night, and Cool as it has been ever since the first Reign on the 12th.

Captn. Dalton had a Sorrel Mare Covrd.

My Black Mare that came Frederick was Coverd Yesterday and the day before. Captn. McCarty had a Mare Coverd the 20th.

Memms.

To have 600 Tobo. Hills Marld at Williamson's quarter; to try the Virtues of it. To do it more effectually, sewd 500 Hills of the same Ground witht Marl, giving both equal working and let them fare exactly alike in all Respects.

For an Experimt.

Take 7 Pots (Earthen) or 7 Boxes of equal size and number them. Then put No. 1 plt. Earth taken out of the Field below, which is Intend'd for Wheat. In No. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 equal proportion's of the same Earth; to No. 2

prevailing rate of exchange. For some reason the Reverend Mr. Green returned £710 sterling in September. At a much later day Washington makes the following entry in Ledger A: 'Note. See the true state of this account (as settled by the Commissioners) among the Papers Relative to the Land bought of Clifton. There it appears that £243.13.1 sterling and £26.18.7 Cur'y is due to Chas. Carroll Esqr. of Maryland agreeable to a judgment of the General Court, which is all that the Commissioners or any other Persons have a right to demand of me on account of the above Land, notwithstanding there is at this Inst. (that is the 1st day of Jany. 1770) a Bill in the Hands of Col. George Fairfax, one of the Commissioners for £500 sterling drawn on Robt. Cary Esqr. & Company ready to answer Carroll's demand: which whenever paid is to be without Interest, as the money has been always Ready; and he (or Mr. Ignatius Digges in his behalf) been invited to receive the same — often.' The purchase covered 1800 acres in Clifton's Neck. (*Ford.*)

Put Cow dung; to 3 Marle, with Mud from the Marshes and bottoms adjoining the [ ] Field; to 5 Mud taken out of the River immediately; to 6 the same Mud lain to Mellow sum time; and to 7 the Mud taken from the Shoreside at low Water where it appears to be unmixd with Clay; of each an equal quantity, and at the proper Season of Sowing Oats put in each of these Pots or boxes 6 Grain's of the largest and heaviest Oats planted at proper distances, and watch their growth and different changes till Harvest.

N.B. to preserve them from Accident put them in the Garden and let the Pots be buried up to their brims.[1]

Corn, in York County — made by Jo: Valentine[2] — 1759.

Great House Quarter.....	205	Bar
Clift Quarter.....	75	
Martin's Field.....	82½	
Mill Quarter.....	51	
Bridge Quarter.....	45	
In all....	520½	B.

WEIGHTS OF THE ESTATES TOBO.[3] MADE IN 1759.

In York — by Joseph Valentine

	Gross	*Tare*	*Nett*
No. 1.....	1208	97	1111
2.....	1228	93	1135
3.....	1216	99	1117
4.....	1233	96	1137
5.....	1231	100	1131

[1] At this point begins a long extract from Tull's *Husbandry*, on Lucerne seed and its cultivation, which is omitted.

[2] A tenant and overseer of one of the Custis estate plantations. (*Toner.*)

[3] Unfortunately no full statement of the returns of tobacco and corn from the different estates has been preserved. The tables in the text cover only a small part of the crops and Ledger A supplies only a small number of items. These latter show that from some of his tenants Washington received a certain rent payable in tobacco, or what was the same thing, in transfer notes covering

	Gross	*Tare*	*Nett*	
No. 6.....	1253	102	1151	
7.....	1185	104	1081	
8.....	1210	99	1111	
9.....	1205	94	1111	
10.....	1168	97	1071	
11.....	1181	95	1096	
12.....	1238	99	1139	
13.....	1219	98	1121	
14.....	1210	96	1114	
15.....	1185	97	1088	
16.....	1216	99	1117	
A.....	1160	100	1060	
B.....	1131	97	1034	
C.....	1149	98	1051	
D.....	1090	97	993	21969

The above Tobo. was Shipd on board the Deliverance for Messrs

November.

tobacco in the various storehouses appointed for the inspection of tobacco. In 1760 he received the following rents:

					lbs.
Feby.	16	1 Crop hhd.	of Thomas Petit	Hunting Creek	862
	18	1 Ditto	of John Crook		977
April	—	1 Ditto	of William Nations	Pohick	1176
May	22	1 Transfer Note	Charles Craik	Hunting Creek	711
June	4	1 Ditto	of Sampson Darrell	Falls	630
		1 Ditto	of Ditto	Pohick	70
		1 Ditto	of Ditto	on the Sheriffs	30
	9	1 Crop hhd.	of John Gist	Hunting Creek	920
		1 Transfer Note	Ditto	on Sheriffs	492
July		1 Transfer Note	of Widow Ransom	Hunting Creek	625
		1 Ditto	of Do. pr. T. Mobs	Hunting Creek	720
		1 Ditto	of Ben Williamson	Hunting Creek	614
		To Rents received in the Year 1760			7827

On the crop of 1759 he received 15 hogsheads or 16,056 pounds from Christopher Hardwick and 9 hogsheads or 9657 pounds and a transfer note of Benjamin Williamson for 620 pounds. These brought the total receipts to 34,160 pounds, of which 8700 pounds were shipped to —— Farrel, of Bristol; 20,602 pounds were sold to Harry Piper, and 3178 pounds were expended in legal fees, sheriff's

Remainder of Jos: Valentine's Crop — 1759.

	gross	*Tare*	*Nett.*
No. E.....	1059	96	963
F.....	1115	94	1021
G.....	1079	96	983
H.....	1065	93	972
I.....	1071	96	975
K.....	1152	96	1056
L.....	1140	109	1031
17.....	1135	96	1040

levy, and rent to Thomas Smith, leaving a balance of 1680 pounds to be carried over to 1761.

That this was not a full statement is shown by the entries of 1761, which add much to our knowledge. He credits as follows in net weights:

			lbs.
Rents of	John Crook	Hunting Creek	913
	Samuel Johnson	Do	1042
	William Poole	Pohick	871
	Gilbert Simpson	Hunting Creek	908
	Edward Williams	Ditto	830
	Mary Sheridine	Ditto	828
	John Crook	Ditto	953
	John Sheridine	Ditto	826
	John Carney	Ditto	995
	Henry Taylor	Ditto	963
	Gilbert Simpson	Ditto	980
	Samuel King	Ditto	858
Transfer Notes of	William Pool		216
	Joseph Gardner		828
	Sampson Darrell		723
	John Gist		729
			13,363

Crop made at Bullskin in 1760, by Chr. Hardwick with 14 hands	12,862
Ditto at Muddy Hole in Ditto by Richard Stephens with 8½ hands	6,711
Ditto at Doeg Run in Ditto by John Foster with 5 hands	6,370
Ditto at Williamsons in Ditto by myself and 6 hands	5,167
Ditto made in King William by John Roan with 18 hands	18,884
	65,037

From which 19,173 pounds were shipped on the *Bland*, Captain Wylie, consigned to Robert Cary & Co.; 12,783 pounds on the *Sarah*, Captain Norrison Coverdale, consigned to Robert Cary & Co.; 5846 pounds on the *Phœnix*. Captain McGachin, consigned to Richard Washington; and 18,884 pounds on the *Argo*, Captain Boyer, consigned to Robert Cary & Co., leaving a balance of 8351 pounds to be carried over to 1762. (*Ledger A. Ford.*)

		gross	*Tare*	*Nett.*	
No.	18.....	1188	94	1094	
	19.....	1145	97	1048	
	20.....	1216	99	1117	
	21.....	1185	96	1089	
	22.....	1168	92	1076	
	23.....	1200	102	1098	
	24.....	1160	102	1059	15,731

The above Tobo. was Shipd on Board the *Cary* for Robt. Cary Esqr. & Compn. November London.

Part of Lewis Smiths[1] *Crop* — 1759

	No.	*Gross*	*Tare*	*Nett.*	
DPC No.	1.....	1260	125	1135	
	2.....	1300	126	1174	
	3.....	1269	127	1142	
	4.....	1082	127	955	Stem'd
	5.....	1238	120	1118	Bundd.
	6.....	1280	126	1154	Ditto
	7.....	1205	122	1083	Stem'd
	8.....	1335	125	1210	Bundd.
	9.....	1294	118	1176	Ditto
	10.....	1192	130	1062	Ditto

Shipd pr. the *Cary*..... 11209
DPC..... 1033
..... 1459
Total, divdd. by 18 Shears..... 18)13701(759
2
Lewis Smiths 2 Shares Tobo..... 1518

Corn made at ye abe place..... 189 Barr'ls.
divided by 18 is..... 10½
2
His share of Corn..... 21 Barr'ls.

Wheat sold, besides Overseers shares and sowing..... 155 Bushels.

[1] Smith and the others, Howells, Osling, and Rones, were overseers on the dower plantations in York County.

Part of Epaphros Howls Crop — 1759.

		Gross	*Tare*	*Nett*	
DPC	No. 11.....	1273	124	1149	Bundd.
	12.....	1285	122	1163	Bundd.
	13.....	1285	124	1161	Ditto
	14.....	1281	124	1157	Ditto
	15.....	1274	124	1150	Ditto.
	16.....	1204	124	1080	Ditto
	17.....	1157	124	1033	Old Quar.
	18.....	1190	118	1072	Ditto
	19.....	1237	124	1113	Ditto
	20.....	1202	124	1078	Ditto
	21.....	1298	120	1178	Ditto
	22.....	1242	124	1118	Ditto

Shipd pr. the Cary..... 13452

DPC. No. 1..... 1410
2..... 1097
5..... 1173
6..... 1153
7..... 1183
8..... 1165
9..... 1221
10..... 1128

20 Hhds dividd, by 29)22982(792½

3

Dite Howles Shares of Tobo..... 2377½

Corn made by him.... 334 Barr'ls
His 3 Shares comes to 34½ B.
Wheat, besides Sowing etca. 240 Bushels.

Part of Jacob Oslings Crop — 1759

		gross	*Tare*	*Nett.*	
DPC	No. 23.....	1037	124	913	Stem'd
	24.....	1167	118	1049	Bundled
	25.....	1202	120	1082	Ditto
	26.....	1248	124	1104	Ditto
	27.....	1227	120	1107	Ditto
	28.....	1212	118	1094	Ditto
	29.....	1250	118	1132	Ditto

Shipd. pr. the Cary 7481

595

Total 7 Hhds. & a pe. by 12½)8076(646

1½

Jacob Oslings Share of Tobo..... 969

Corn made by him.... 150 Barr'ls
his share and half is 18

132

No Wheat

Part of John Roan's Crop — 1759

		gross	*Tare*	*Nett*	
DPC	No. 30.....	1137	122	1015	Bundled
	31.....	1206	126	1080	Ditto
	32.....	1223	122	1101	Ditto
	33.....	1080	120	958	Ditto
	34.....	1112	120	992	Ditto
	35.....	1142	126	1016	Ditto
	36.....	1225	122	1103	Ditto
	37.....	1092	124	968	Ditto
	38.....	1132	118	1014	Ditto
	39.....	1204	126	1078	Ditto

Shipd. pr. the Cary 10325

DPC. No. 1..... 1124
2..... 1104
3..... 1233
4..... 1206
5..... 1175

DPC. No. 6 1269
7 1221
8 1182
9 1136
10 1218
11 1234

21 Hhds. divided by 17)23427(1409
2

Jno. Roan's share of Tobo. 2818

Corn made by him .... 281 Barr'ls
his 2 shares comes to .... 33 Barr.
Wheat, besides Sow'g &ca. .... 145 bushls.

A List of Working Dower Negroes, where settled, & under whose care, 1760

At Claibornes — John Roan

George	A Man	1 Share
Stephen	Ditto	1 Ditto
Parros	Ditto	1 ditto
Argyle	Ditto	1 ditto
Solomon	Ditto	1 ditto
Marlborough ...	Ditto	1 ditto
Sam	Ditto	1 ditto
David	Ditto	1 ditto
Hector	Ditto	1 ditto
Will	Ditto	1 ditto
Sam Cit	Ditto	1 ditto
Sarah	A Woman	1 ditto
Sen	Ditto	1 ditto
Patt	Ditto	1 ditto
Rachel	Ditto	1 ditto
Jenny	Ditto	1 ditto
Citt	Ditto	1 ditto
Citt	A Girl	1 ditto
George	A Boy	1 ditto
		18
John Roan		2 shares

At Moncock Hill — Isaac Osling

Matt	A Man	1 Share
Will	Ditto	1 ditto
Moll	A Woman	1 ditto
Sarah	Ditto	1 ditto
		4
Overseer		1

5 in all

At Bridge Quarter — York

Bachus	A Man	1 Share
Ben	Ditto	1 ditto
Young Ned	Ditto	1 ditto
Cupid	Ditto	1 ditto
Old Daphne	A Woman	1 ditto
Young Daphne	Ditto	1 ditto
Moll	Ditto	1 ditto
Frank	Ditto	1 ditto
Arlington	A Boy	½ ditto
Caesar	Ditto	½ ditto
George	Ditto	½ ditto
Tuckey	A Girl	½ ditto
		10 ditto

At the Ship Landing

Crispin	A Man	1 share
Ned Holt	Ditto	1 ditto
Old Captain	Ditto	1 ditto
Jupiter	Ditto	1 ditto
Brunswick	Do	1 ditto
Moll	A Woman	1 ditto
Betty	Ditto	1 ditto
		7 ditto

1760

May 23–December 31

1761

January 1–May 23

Diaries missing, or not kept

1761

May 24–October 22

Original in Library of Congress

1761

MAY

Cattle bought at My Bro. John Washington's Sale, 21st Septr. 1761.

1 Cow and Calf		£2–10–
1 Ditto	Ditto	2– 4–
1 Ditto	Ditto	2–16–
1 Ditto	Ditto	2–17–
1 Ditto	Ditto	3– 3–
1 Ditto	Yearling	2– 9–
1 Ditto	Ditto	3– 1–
1 Ditto		1–16–
1 Steer		1–17–
2 Ditto		2–
		£27– 2–

May 24th. Betty from Riverside Quarter came home sick and did not [get] again in a Condition to Work till the 13th July fol:

11th July, 1761 Edward Violette[1] compleated his Planting at Muddy hole Quarter — that is, he planted 25,000 hills on ye East side of the Plantn and replanted all.

The same day Jno. Foster at Dogue Run Quarter finishd his, having 40,000 to plant, besides replanting — 18,000 of which lying at ye south Extreame of the Plantn, 8,000 in ye Orchard abt. the House, and ye rest around the New Tobo. House on the East.

N.B. The Reason of noting this late Plantg. is to see how it succeeds.

Friday, July 31st. Sowd Turnips. Upon which fell a heavy Rain immediately, so that they were neither Rakd

[1] Overseer at Muddy Hole. Articles of agreement between Washington and Edward Violett, dated August 5, 1762, are in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

nor harrowd in — the seed I mean. In a few days they came up very thick and well.

August 15th. Sow'd abt. half an Acre of English Turnip Seed adjoining to the above, and Raked them in the Ground being dry.

Septr. 8. Sowed 12 Bushels of Ray Grass Seed and 2 Bushels of Hop Trafoil in the Inclosure adjoining the Quarter. The Weather was extreamely dry when it was sowd. However their fell a slight Shower that day, as there did likewise the 10th, but not more than sufficient to lay the Dust thoroughly. The seed was Harrowed in with a Brush Harrow and it is apprehended buried too deeply [by] that means as none of it appeard till towards the last of the Month after a great deal of Rainy Weather, and then of none but the Ray grass. The other is not to be seen at this time, Octr. 23d.

Octr. 15th. Sowed a Bushell of Ray grass seed, a gallon of Clean Timothy Seed, and abt. half a Bushel in Chaff of Ditto on my Meadow at Dogue Run Quarter. Note, this ground at the time of Sowing was very moist, but no Rain fell upon it afterwards untill the 22d of the Month, when it raind hard for two days. This Seed was also harrowed in with Bushes. Clean Timothy seed supposed not to be good.

[1]*Octr. 22d.* Began Captn. Possey's Barn with Turner Crump[2] and six Carpenters.

[1] From the diaries the record of Washington's attendance in the House of Burgesses is not easy to reconstruct. The account books of expenses, however, fill in for us. He attended the March and November sessions of 1761 and was paid by the Colony Treasurer, for his services at both sessions, on November 8th. He attended both March and November sessions of 1762 and was paid for same, November 16th.

[2] Turner Crump was hired in 1761 to look after the carpenters in Washington's employ. For this he received £30 a year and one sixth of the cost of work done. Posey's barn occupied the workmen thirty-eight days, being completed December 1st, and cost £97.18.7½. Crump remained in this employ until the middle of 1764, and in 1766 is found as a tenant of Washington. A copy of *Francis Price, The British Carpenter; or, A Treatise on Carpentry* (London, 1768), was in Washington's library and is now in the Boston Athenæum. (*Ford.*)

1761

October 23–December 31

1762

1763

January 1–March 1

Diaries missing, or not kept

1763

March 2–November 18

Original in Library of Congress

1763

MARCH

brought to D: Run Plantn. 3 of my Stray Steers.
2 Seven young Pigs at R: Side Qr.
6 Eight Do at Muddy hole.
9 by this lost 3 of my Sheep viz a Ram and two young Ewes —
10 brot. a strayed Heifer of mine to Riv Side Qr. —

April 24
at my Plantation in King William
15 Negroe Sharers
2 Overseer —
17 in all.

126 head of Cattle besides Calves — 9 of this Spring

52 head of Sheep besides Lambs — 13

8 Sows for Breeding
16 for Porkers at the Fall
18 — of 6 Months old
32 — of 6 Weeks Ditto
28 young Pigs.
102 — in all.

190 Corn holes good Tale.
170 Tobo. Hills Do. Do.

At Bridge Quarter

Overseer — Cluning
9 Negroe Sharers
10 in all

100,000 holes of Corn..... { 110,000 } lately
120,000 Tobo. Hills..... { 106,100 } counted

7 Work Steers
56 head Cattle
13 old Sheep
12 Lambs
2 Sows
5 Barrows
15 Pigs — 6 Weeks old

At Ship Landing

William Jackson
7 Negroe Sharers
8 in all.

70,000 Corn holes..... { 77056 } Counted
80,000 Tobo. Hills..... { 81158 }

45 Head Cattle
1 Boar
10 Young hogs
15 Six Weeks old
5 One Week Ditto

May[1] 13 Told my Sheep and cut and Marked Lambs as follows, viz.

Ewes in all here.....	119	Ewe Lambs at H[ome]...	27
At River Side.....	1	R: Lambs for Killg.....	13
at Creek.....	5	Weather Lms.....	13
Weathers at home.....	18	at Creek Qr.....	7
at Creek Qr.....	4		
Rams at home.....	7		
at Creek Qr.....	3	at R[ive]r Side.....	1
	157		61

[1] Washington was away from home for twenty-six days in May, traveling and attending the session of the Burgesses. The trip into the Dismal Swamp was made in this month, though it is recorded as a distinct entry under date of October 15th.

Tobo. Ground belonging to Muddy hole

at the Mill	13,100
Corner by Gate	4,200
By Muddy hole Swamp	5,800
By Lane and Road at Hannahs	4,200
Slipe below Hill near Do.	6,350
Join'g Rye and Woods	8,700
In all	42,350

JUNE [1]

24 began to cut Timothy at Ashfords [2]

30 Finished Do. — 2 days Rain in ye time.

JULY

1*st.* began to cut Rye by Garden.

5–9. Cut and secured all my Wheat (by Stacking) at River and Creek Quarters — abt. 60 Acres — Carpenters, Smiths, and home Gang employd.

[1] The diary record is disappointing at times. For one reason or another Washington fails to note things that are of considerable interest. In June, 1763, articles of association were entered into for forming the Mississippi Company, and by-laws were adopted. An agent was to be sent to England to obtain a grant from the Crown. The charter members were: Francis Lightfoot Lee, John Augustine Washington, Anthony Stewart, Richard Parker, Robert Woodrop, William Flood, Robert Brent, William Beale, Jr., Henry Fitzhugh, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Adam Stephen, William Lee, Presley Thornton, William Booth, Thomas Bullitt, William Brockenbrough, William Fitzhugh, and George Washington. The story of the Company is soon told: Meetings were held in September, 1763, November, 1765, and December, 1767. Washington paid as his quota £25.13.9. Nothing was ever returned to the shareholders. It was a total loss, and no grant of land was obtained from the authorities in Great Britain.

There was an assessment levied May 29, 1768, of £16.18.9, and another meeting held in July, 1768, to no purpose. Washington's account with the Company is written off in Ledger B, on January 1, 1772, as a loss of £27.13.5. A copy of the rules and regulations of the Company, in Washington's handwriting, is in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress, under date of June 3, 1763.

[2] William Ashford, from whom Washington had purchased 135 acres of land on Dogue Run, in 1762.

11. Cut and Stacked wheat at Muddy hole and cut Rye there.

12–13 Cut and Stackd Do. at Dogue Run and Stackd Rye at Muddy hole

14–18 Cut and made Hay of Clover at River Quarter with part of ye hands — ye Rest workg at D[ogue] R[un.]

19–20 Cut'g Hay at Hell hole.

21–22 Mak'g Do. Rainy.

23 People doing Jobs.

25–27 Cutting and Mak'g Hay at Sein Landg.

28–29 Cut Timothy Seed at Ashford's and new top'd ye Stack there.

Note this Seed was cut too soon and did not stand long enough in ye field, wch. occasioned gr. loss.

30 Doing Jobs.

AUGUST

1–6 Cutting curing and Stackg. Hay from Creek Meadow.

Note. too late cutting Hay for first Crop this year.

15. Sowed Turnips at Muddy hole

16. Sowed Do. at Rivr. Quarter.

16. Do. at home in Peach Orchard.

English Seed from Clifton and Posey

17. Sowed Do. below Garden, Seed from England

18. Ditto in Apple Orchard some English Seed and some Country Do.

18. Sowed likewise at Creek Quarter and Dogue Run Country Seed
Note. no Rain upon them untill the [ ] Inst.

20. counted sheep as pr. List Inclosd.

26. Sowed a little English Clover Seed at Quince tree in Garden to see if it was good.

29. began Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole.

31. In Turnips below garden and Peach orchard sowed about a Peck of Spelts in Drills — also abt a Hat-ful in Apple Orchard lower Corner.

SEPTEMBER

1*st*. Observd that my yg. Corn was just beginning to show, occasioned by Rains falling abt. the 25th. Quere, has it time to make or Ripen?

2. Sowed a Bushel and half of Winter Barley on an Acre of Ground in Apple Orchard.

3–4. Sowed Rye in Ditto and began Stilling Cyder.

8 Agreed with Thomas Nichols[1] a farmer to Overlook my People at Home and Work with them for £20.

9. Began to sow wheat at C[ree]k Qr.

[1] Acted as overseer for one year. (*Toner.*)

10. Began to sow Do. at Rivr. Qr.

12. Began to sow Do. at Dogue Run.

12. Finishd sowing Do. at Muddy hole 25 pe.

15. Planted in 11 holes on the West side of the Garden 22 English Walnuts.

17. Began to sow Rye at Muddy hole.

19. Began getting fodder at Do.

21. Frost bit Tobabbo at D. Run.

22. Frost bit Do. at Do., and at Muddy hole also bit fodder very much.

22. Began to get fodder at Creek Quarter.

OCTOBER

1*st.* finished sowing 7 Bushels of Spelts in 7 Acres of Corn Ground at Muddy hole — ye sowing of which was began the day before.

15 *October*–1763 Memm.[1] From Suffolk[2] to Pocoson

[1] This account of the Great Dismal Swamp and Washington's journey thereto is entered in pencil in the front of this 1763 diary under date of October 15th, and continued on the last pages of same. These pencil entries are very faint, almost indecipherable from having gradually rubbed off. The same account was recopied in ink by Washington, dated October 15, 1763, in the front of the 1764 diary, and this text, here given, is that of the ink copy. Such changes as were made were merely those of an improved diction and were too slight to justify noting. The journey was actually made May 25–28, 1763. Washington returned to Mount Vernon, from Williamsburg, in June, and again visited the Swamp in October, on his return to Williamsburg in that month. On this October visit, however, he does not appear to have gone into the Swamp as he did in May.

[2] County seat of Nansemond County, Virginia.

Swamp is reckoned about 6 Miles, and something better than 4, perhaps 5 miles from Collo. Reddick's [1] Mill run (where the Road x's it). The land within this distance especially after passing Willis Reddick's [2] is Level and not bad, the banks down to this (Pocoson) Swamp declines gradually, and the Swamp appears to be near 75 yds. over, but no water in it at present. Note. Willis Reddick's Plantn. seems to be a good one, the land being level and stiff. So does Henry Riddick's [3] above.

From Pocoson Swamp to Cypres Swamp (which conducts more Water into the great Dismal [4] than any one of

[1] Edward Reddick or Riddick, of Nansemond County. (*Toner.*)

[2] Brother of Edward, examined the Dismal Swamp in company with Washington and others in 1768. (*Toner.*)

[3] Brother of Edward and Willis.

[4] In 1763 Washington and five partners formed a company designated in his papers as the 'Adventurers for draining the Dismal Swamp,' a well-known part of Norfolk County, North Carolina. As early as 1728, William Byrd had recognized that the Swamp once drained would be profitable land and a stream or canal would be the natural course for water carriage of products from Albemarle Sound into Nansemond and Elizabeth Rivers, Virginia. The great cost hindered any action. Who constituted the Adventurers of 1763 cannot be definitely known, but Fielding Lewis, Burwell Bassett, and John Walker contributed, with Washington, to the expense of a preliminary examination. Washington visited the Swamp first in May, 1763, and again in October, and the 'Memorandoms' printed above were made on this second visit. The reports were favorable, for £600 was voted in November to carry on the work. Application was next made to the General Assembly. On January 18th it was 'Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable certain Adventurers to drain a large Tract of marshy Ground in the Counties of Nansemond and Norfolk; and it is referred to Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Lemuel Riddick, to prepare and bring in the same.' Two days later the bill was passed and in due time received the assent of the Governor and Council. The law is printed in *Hening*, VIII, 18, and merely empowers the Adventurers 'to enter upon, and have such a free passage, and make such canals, or causeways, through the lands of any person whatsoever adjacent to the said Dismal Swamp, as may be conducive to the more effectual draining thereof, without being subject to the action or suit of any such persons for the same.'

In 1764 Washington and John Robinson supplied a number of slaves and in December £480 was raised to continue operations. The chief product appears to have been shingles. More money was raised — £300 in June, 1765, and £300 in May, 1766 — and in December of the latter year a first payment was made to the estate of Willis Reddick for land. The subscribers to this purchase were William and Thomas Nelson, —— Waters, —— Mead, Dr. Walker, Colonel Tucker, Mr. Farley, and Washington. Here the adventure became passive,

the many that leads into it) is about 2½ Miles. This also is dry at present but appears to be 60 or 65 yards across in the wettest part.

The next Swamp to this is calld Mossey Swamp, and distant about 3 Miles near this place lives Jno. Reddick [1] on good Land; but hitherto from Pocoson Swamp, the land lyes flat, wet, and poor. This Swamp is 60 yards over and dry.

Between Cypress Swamp, and the last mentioned one we went on horse back not less than ½ a mile into the great Swamp (Dismal) without any sort of difficulty, the horse not sinking over the fetlocks. The first quarter abounding in Pine and Galebury bushes, the Soil being much intermixd with Sand but afterwards it grew blacker and richer with many young Reeds and few pines, and this it may be observed here is the nature of the Swamp in general.

From Mossey Swamp to a branch, and a large one it is, of Oropeak (not less than 80 yards over) is reckoned 4 Miles; two miles short of which is a large Plantation belonging to one Brindle, near to which (on the South Side) passes the Carolina line.[2]

The Main Swamp of Oropeak is about ½ a Mile from this, where stands the Widow Norflet's Mi[ll] and luke Sumners [3] Plantations. This Sw[am]p cannot be less than 200 yards across but does not nevertheless discharge as much water as Cypress Swamp.

At the Mouth of this Swamp is a very large Meadow of 2 or 3000 Acres held by Sumner, Widow Norflet,

though Washington visited the Swamp in November, 1766, April and October, 1767, and October, 1768. (*Ford.*)

[1] Brother of Edward and Willis Reddick. (*Toner.*)

[2] The Virginia–North Carolina line passes through about the middle of Dismal Swamp.

[3] In Nansemond County, Virginia. Somerton, Virginia, is named after the family. (*Toner.*)

Marmaduke Norflet,[1] Powel and others and valuable ground it is.

From Oropeak Swamp to loosing Swamp is about 2 Miles, and this 70 yards across.

From hence again to Bassey Swamp the lower Road may be allowed 2 Miles more, but this Swamp seems trifling.

And from Bassey Swamp to Horse Pool (which is the last, and including Swamp running into the Dismal) is about 2 miles more and 35 yards across only.

The whole Land from Pocoson Swamp to this place and indeed all the way to Pequemen Bridge is in a manner a dead level — wet and cold in some places, sandy in others and generally poor.

This last named Swamp — viz the Horsepool — is called 9 Miles from the upper Bridge on Pequemin River; within a Mile of which lives one Elias Stallens; and within 5 miles is the lower Bridge — from whence to the bridge, or Ferry over little River is 15 measured Miles — the course [runs] nearly due South, as it likewise is from Suffolk to the said Bridge, the Dismal running that course from that place.

From little River Bridge (or Ferry) to Ralph's Ferry on Paspetank is (I think we were told) abt. 16 Miles, the course East or No. East; and from thence, if the ferry is not crossed, along up the West Side of the River to the Rivr. Bridge of the said Paspetank is reckoned — miles and about a No. Wt. course the Dismal bordering close upon the left all the way.

[1] Washington, Fielding Lewis, and the Dismal Swamp Company bought land from him. The name is usually given as Norfleet. In Ledger A, under date of November 5, 1768, Washington has entered: 'By Cash paid Mr. John Gibson on Acct. of Majr. Riddicks order in favr. of Marmaduke Norfleet for Land bot. of him £300.' The deed for this purchase appears to have been drawn by Edmund Pendleton for a fee of £1. The Company acquired in all about 40,000 acres of the best land in the Swamp. In his will, Washington claims about 400 acres as his possession then (1799), and six years before that, in 1793, he appraised his Swamp holdings at £5000.

Note. The above acct. is from Information only; for instead of taking that Rout, we crossed from Elias Stallens (one Mile above the upper bridge on Pequemin) across to a set of People which Inhabit a small slipe of Land between the said River Pequemen and the Dismal Swamp, and from thence along a new cut path through the Main Swamp a Northerly course for 5 Miles, to the Inhabitants of what they call new found land, which is thick settled, very rich Land, and about 6 Miles from the aforesaid River Bridge of Paspetank. The Arm of the Dismal which we passed through to get to this New land (as it is called) is 3¼ Miles Measured little or no timber in it, but veryfull of Reeds and excessive rich. Thro this we carried horses without any great difficulty.

This Land was formerly esteemed part of the Dismal, but being higher, tho' full of Reeds, People ventured to settle upon it and as it became more open, it became more dry and is now prodigeous fine land, but subject to wets and unhealthiness.

It is to be observed here that the tide, or still Water that comes out of the Sound up Pequemen River flows up as high as Stallens, and the River does not widen much untill it passes the lower Bridge some little distance. At Ralph's ferry upon Paspetank the River is Said to be 2 Miles over, and decreases in width gradually to the bridge called River bridge, where it is about 30 yards across and affords sufficient Water for New England Vessels to come up and Load.

From what observations we were capable of making it appeared, as if the Swamp had very little fall — (I mean the Waters out of the great Sw[am]p) into the heads of these Rivers, which seems to be a demonstration that the Swamp is much lower on the South and East Sides, because it is well known that there is a pretty considerable fall on the West side through all the drains that make into

Nansemond River and the Western Branch of Elizabeth at the North End of the Dismal.

From the River Bridge of Paspetank to an Arm of the Dismal at a place called 2 Miles Bridge is reckoned 7 Miles, and a branch of Paspetank twice crossed in the distance.

This Arm of the Dismal is equaly good and Rich like the rest and seems (as we were informed) 15 or 20 Miles Easterly, and has an outlet (as some say) into Curratuck Inlet by No. West River, or Tully Ck. but these accts. were given so indistinctly as not to be relied upon. However it is certain, I believe, that the Water does drain of at the East end somewhere: in which case a common causay through at the crossing place woud most certainly lay all that Arm dry.

From this place, wch. is 2 Miles over to the Carolina line, is about 4 Miles, and from them to No. West landing on No. West Rivr. a branch of Curratuck, is 3 Miles more.

Note. The Carolina line crosses the Swamp in a West direction, and is 15 Miles from the place where it enters to its coming out of the same near Brindle's Plantation. Flats and small Craft load at No.West landing.

To the great Bridge from No.West landing is accounted 12 Miles, the Lands good, as they are on all this (east) side and highly esteemed valued in general, according to the Proprietors own accts. from 20/ to 3 pr. Acre.; but we were told they were to be had for less. This Bridge is upon the South Branch of Elizabeth River and abt. 10 Miles from Norfolk and heads in the Dismal, as does likewise No.West River, Paspetank, little River and Pequemen.

From the Great Bridge to Collo. Tucker's Mills[1] is about 8 Miles, within which distance several small Creeks, making out of South Rivr., head up in the Dismal.

Farley's Plantation at the Forks of the Road is reckoned

[1] On the southwest branch of the Elizabeth River. (*Toner.*)

5 Miles from the aforesaid Mills near to which the dismal runs.

From hence to Robert's Ordy. is 6 Miles, and from thence to Suffolk 10 more. The land from the Great bridge to within a mile or two of Robert's is generally sandy and indifferent; from hence to Cowper's Mill they are good, and from thence to Collo. Reddick's Mean again.

Note. From the River B[ridge]; on Paspetank to the Great Bridge on South River the Road runs nearly North, and from thence to Farley's Plantation[1] it seems to be about West from this again to Collo. Reddick's (or Suffolk) 10 Ms., and from thence to Pequemen B[ridge] and little Rivr. South as before men[tione]d the Swamp bordering near to the Road all the way round, in some place close adjoining and in others 2 and 3 Miles distant.[2]

[1] In Norfolk County, five miles from Tucker's Mills. (*Toner.*)

[2] 'Oct 21. By Expenses to the Dismal and back £2.7.2.' (*Ledger A.*)

While on the way home from this Dismal Swamp trip, Washington stopped in Williamsburg and collected his pay and traveling expenses for attending the session of the House of Burgesses of May, 1763.

1763

November 19–December 31

1764

January 1–March 28

Diaries missing, or not kept

1764

March 29–October 18

Original in Library of Congress

1764

MARCH[1]

29. Grafted as follows, viz.

8 Bullock Heart Cherry's: these are a fine large bla: Cherry, ripe in May, but not early. They begin the first Row in the Nursery next the Quarter, and at that end next to the Ray Grass Field, between these and the rest, a Stake is drove. Then, 8 of the finest early May Cherry, ending at another Stick. Then, 6 of the large Duke Cherry, ending at a stick likewise, all in the same Row — these three Cherry's from Collo. Mason's. From hence to the end of the Row are Cherry Scions for Grafting upon another year.

29. Grafted also, 12 Magnum Bonum Plumbs, beginning the 2nd Row at the end next Ray Grass and ending at a stake; from hence to the end of the Row are Plumb Scions for grafting upon another year. Note. The Magnum Bonum Plumb from Collo. Mason's.

In the 3d Row (begin'g next Ray Grass) the 1st, 4 and 5th trees are of a pretty early (June) pair from Collo. Mason's; the 2, 3, 6th and to the 15th tree Inclusive (at the end of which a stake is drove) are the bla: Pear of Worcester — from Collo. Mason — a large course Pear for Baking. then 10 Bergamy Pears from Ditto, ending at a Stake, these are a very fine fruit but Courser than most other English Pears.

29. Grafted also, the 3d Row aforesd.; continued then,

[1] Though there are no diary entries for the first two months of this year, the ledger of accounts shows that Washington was away from home twenty-two days in January, traveling and attending the session of the Burgesses. These first entries are merely memoranda, the actual diary for this year does not commence until June 5th.

after the 10 Bergamy Pears, one of the Summer Boon Chrn. — this from Collo. Mason, who had them from Collo. Fairfax, who praises them much. from hence to the end of the Row are apple Scions to Graft upon; 4th Row, all Apple Scions to continue Pear Grafts upon next year. 5th Row, beginning at the end next to Cherry Walk are, first 15 New Town Pippins from Collo. Mason, who had them from Mr. President Blair — these end at a Stake and the Remainder of the Row and all the 6th Row are Maryland Red Stricks — 68 in number. Note. The last years Grafts from Mr. Digges — this from Collo. Mason.

29. Grafted also in the 7 Row 43 Gloucester white apple; 8 Row beginning next Ray Grass 7 more of Do. (in all 50), endg. at a Stake. Note, these from Collo. Mason.

In the border just above the 2d Fall in the Garden Grafted one of the fine early May Cherry — Collo. Mason.

Note, this is the 2d Graft in the Border and stands nearest the middle walk.

JUNE

5 got one load of Hay from Peach Orchard weight 1483 lbs

6 got the rest in viz 1979

3462

7 and 8 dug up abt. load of Marle to spread over Wheat Land for experiment

8 Sowed Lucerne again in the missing places below Garden —

11 finished (with two plows) the Gd. behind the Garden wch. was begun the 4th —

12 Began to cut Meadow (Creek)

13 Meazured of 64 Gallons and put undr. Bishops care for Harvest &ca.

AUGUST

1 and 2 Sowed Turnipts — behind Garden

10 Sowed Spelts — behind Ditto

14 Cut Timothy Seed at Doeg Run

17 and 18 brought Oats from Ashfords
Note they were good Oats and a bushl of them when well cleand weighd 30 lbs and a bushl. of Spelts ..... weighd 28

22 trimmed up 52 heads of Tobo. at Creek Quarter for Sweet scented Seed

22 began to cut Meadow on Creek 15 onwards getting apples for Cyder

23 Peaches require to be gatherd for Bls.

24 began to sow Wheat at Muddy hole

27 began to sow Do at Riverside Q.

28 began ..... Do at Creek

30 began ..... Do at Doeg Run

31 finished curing and Stacking Hay

SEPTEMBER

8 Sowed a few Oats to see if they would stand the Winter (at Doeg Run)

15 finished sowing Wheat at Riverside Quarter 50 Bushels

20 Sowed Wheat as far as Ransoms[1] Houses at Muddy hole 55 Bushels

21 Began to cut Tops at Muddy H and R Qrs.

22 finishd sowing the Wheat in Corn Ground on this side the Run at Doeg Run Qr. sent (Wheat) from home 36 Bls. thrashed at ye Quartrs 38 Bls. in all 74 Bus.

22 finishd plowg. Turnips behind Garden wch was begun 20th

27 A Negro and apprentice of Robt. Wrights began to Work upon my Mill

27 transplanted Lucerne below Garden and sowed Rows of St. Foine

OCTOBER[2]

1*st* Robert Wright began to Work at my Mill gathered Apples for Cyder

[1] Joseph Ransom, a millwright on the Muddy Hole Farm. (*Toner.*)

[2] Ledger A gives the following entry under October, 1764: 'To my Burgesses Wages untill the adjournment in Octr. Sessions — viz 54 days @ 15/ £40.10 To 12 travelling days — to and from Do..... @ .... Do. £9. To Ferriages going and coming over Occoquan, Rappahannock and Pamunky £1.17.9' Total £70.4.4.

2 Sowed 7 Bushels of Spelts by ye Orchard Morris and George went to Work at Mill along with the Mill wright

13 finishd getting and securing Fodder at Muddy hole and Creek

15 finished Do. Do. at Doeg Run finished Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole and began to sow Spelts —

18 finishd securing fodder at Rivr. Side

1764

October 19–December 31

Diary missing, or not kept

1765

January 1–November 13

Original in Library of Congress

1765

JANUARY

1*st.* had at the Home House 78 Sheep besides the 11 which are fattening

At the River Plantation there are 60
At Muddy hole 28
At Doeg Run .....
Cattle at Home House — viz —
Work Steers 6
Fatting Do and 3 Cows 8
1 Bull .....
Cows[1] .....
Yearlings .....
At Rivr. Plantn. in ye whole .....
At Muddy hole .....Do .....
At Doeg Run .....Do .....
Hogs at Home house besides Pigs in a Pen — 2 Sows and a boar 3

Riverside	Grown	
	Shoats	
	Pigs	
Muddy hole ...	Grown	
	Shoats	
	Pigs	
Doeg Run	Grown	
	Shoats	
	Pigs	
Mill	Grown	
	Shoats	
	Pigs	

5*th* MARCH. 1765.[2]

Grafted 15 English Mulberrys on wild Mulberry Stocks on

[1] From this point the account of stock is not filled in in the original.
[2] These agricultural memorandums are entered at the back of the diary for this year.

the side of the Hill near the Spring Path. Note, the Stocks were very Milkey.

6th. Grafted 10 Carnation Cherrys on growing Stocks in the Garden — viz. 5 of them in and about the Mint Bed, 3 under the Marella Cherry tree, 1 on a Stock in the middle of the border of the last square, and just above the 2d. fall (Note, this Graft is on the Northernmost fork) of Do.; on the Westernmost one is a Bullock Heart, and on the Easternmost one is a May Cherry out of the Cherry Walk. 1 other on a Stock just above the 2d. Gate. Note this is on the Northernmost prong; the other Graft on the said stock is of the May Cherry in the Cherry Walk.

15. Grafted 6 Early May duke Cherrys on the Nursery, begin'g at that end of the first Row next to the Lane — the Row next the Quarter is meant; at the end of this a Stake drove in.

15. Also Grafted joining to these in the same Row 6 of the latter May dukes — which are all the Cherrys in the Row. Also Grafted 7 Bullock Heart Cherrys in the last Row.

30. Grafted 48 Pears which stand as follows, viz. in the 3d Row beging. at the end next the Cherry Walk are 12 Spanish Pears; next to these are 8 Early June Pears; then 10 latter Bergamy; then 8 Black Pear of Worcester; and lastly 10 Early Bergamy. Note, all these Pears came from Colo. Mason's: and between each sort a Stick is drove down. The Rows are counted from the end of the Quarter.

30. This day also I grafted 39 New Town Pippins, which compleat the 5th Row and which Row are all of this kind of Fruit now.

30. The 6th Row is compleated with Grafts of the Maryland Red Strick, which are all of this sort of Fruit, and contains [ ] trees; so is the 8th Row of this Apple, also 54 in number and 20 in the 9th Row beginning next the Cherry Walk.

30 The 7th. Row has 25 Graffs of the Gloster white Apple which compleats this Row with that sort of Fruit.

[MAY [1]]

12 finish Sowing Oats at Muddy hole

12 } Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole by Swamp.
13 }

Do Sowed Do above the Meadow at Doeg Run

15 Sowed Do at head of ye Swamp Muddy H

16 Sowed Hemp at ye head of ye Meadow at Doeg Run and about Southwards [2] Houses with the Barrel

18 Began to Sow ye old Gd. next the Orchard at Muddy hole with the Drill and finish'd 25 Rows and then stopd it sowing two fast

20 Sowed two pieces more at Doeg Run — viz the two Orchards —

20 Sowed Lucern — also 4 Rows adjoining with St. Foin — and other Rows with Fenugreek Seed —

[1] This mutilated leaf (May 12–31, 1765) is now in the Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is noted as having been given to Robert Gilmore, February 22, 1832, by Jared Sparks.

[2] Benjamin Southward, who rented a farm from Washington. The ledger account shows that the annual rental was 1500 pounds of tobacco.

30 Peter Green came to me a Gardener

31 Cut my Clover for Hay[1]

JUNE

8 Sowed Turnips for forward use —

17 began to cut my Meadow by the Seine Landing, and on the 24th finished securing all my Hay at the Home House out of the three Meadows and on the

25*th.* began to cut my Timothy Meadows on Doeg Run and finished making and securing the Hay on the 2d of July Rain falling the 28th. otherwise the whole might have been compleated by the 30th

27. Began my Harvest at the River Plantn.

JULY

22 began to Sow Wheat at Rivr. Plantn.

23 began to Sow Do at Muddy hole

25 began to Sow Do at the Mill

AUGUST

3 began to sow Turneps behind the Garden — the upper part of which, and down to a stake is the Norfolk Turnep — from thence to the bottom Naper Turnep —

5 finishd sowing Do. and a good shower fell thereon the same day —

[1] In May, 1765, Washington was away from home twenty-eight days all told in traveling and attending sessions of the Burgesses.

6 Sowed Turneps where the Drilld Wheat was, behind the Garden — these of old Seed

6 finish'd Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole

7 began to seperate the Male from the Female hemp[1] at Do — rather too late

9. Abt. 6 oclock put some Hemp in the Rivr. to Rot —

10. Seperated my Ewes and Rams — but I believe it was full late — many of the Ewes having taken Ram. —

13. finish'd Sowing Wheat at the Rivr. Plantn. i.e. in ye corn ground 123 Bushels it took to do it

15. the English Hemp i. e. the Hemp from ye English Seed was pickd at Muddy hole this day and was ripe

15. Began to seperate Hemp in the Neck —

17. finishd Sowing Wheat in the Corn field which lyes over ye Run at ye Mill 27 Bushl.

22. put some Hemp into the Water about 6 oclock in the Afternoon — note this Hemp had been pulld the 8th. Inst. and was well dryed and took it out again ye 26th.

SEPTEMBER

4. Began to pull the Seed Hemp — but was not sufficiently ripe. —

5.
6.
7.
9. } Sowed Turneps behind the Garden —

[1] To pull?

15. to this date my Carpenters had in all worked 82 days on my Schooner[1]

22. this Week they workd 22 days upon her

23. began to sow Wheat from Colo. Colvils[2] in Peach Orchard, and finishd 24th. — 4 Bushls.

23. began to cut my Meadows at Hell hole and Creek. —

24. took up Flax which had been in Water since the 12th. viz 12 days

25. Hempseed seems to be in good order for getting — that is of a proper ripeness — but oblige to desist to pull my fodder —

26. began to get fodder at Doeg Run and River Plantns. — rather too dry —

28. This Week my Carpenters worked 22 day's upon my Schooner — and John Askew[3] 3 days upon her

[1] Built at Mount Vernon.

[2] Thomas Colvill. John and Thomas Colvill were sons of a tradesman at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Their paternal uncle accumulated a fortune as a butcher and retired to an estate in the country, where one of his daughters married Charles Bennet, second Earl of Tankerville. (The English pedigree of the Colvills is set out, with full transcripts of their wills, which were proved in Virginia, in *Archæologia Æliana*, second series, XIX, 115.)

John Colvill was trading in the Potomac in his own ship about 1730, and soon thereafter seated himself on land he called 'Clish' on the lower side of Great Hunting Creek. He served as Justice and Burgess and accumulated large bodies of land, chiefly in the Catoctin neighborhood, before he died in 1756, and left the bulk of his estate to the Earl of Tankerville. Meanwhile his brother Thomas had emigrated to Cecil County, Maryland, but on John's death removed to 'Clish' in order to administer on John's estate. There he died in 1767, having induced Washington to serve as one of his executors. In the end this duty brought to Washington a heavy burden of responsibility and much annoyance by reason of the claims upon him by the Colvills' English kin, who were induced to believe that a fortune was due them, which Washington was wrongfully withholding. (See the correspondence in *Archæologia Æliana*, second series, II, 120.)

[3] A joiner who was employed at Mount Vernon at a yearly wage of £25 and a

OCTOBER

5. this Week my Carpenters worked 24 days upon the Schooner — and Jno. Askew — 4 Do.

7. finish'd gettg. and securing my fodder at Doeg Run —

8. Do Do at Rivr. Plantation — too dry

10. finishd pulling Seed Hemp at River Plantation

12. finishd pullg Do. Do. at Doeg Run not much, if any, too late for ye Seed

12. this Week my Carpenters workd 22 days upon my Schooner and J. Askew 3 Do.

19. This Week ye Carpenters workd 18 days which makes in all 190 days and 10 of Jno. Askew

21. began to sow Wheat in Hemp Gd. at R[ive]r. Plantn.

22. began to sow Wheat in Doeg Run, on the Corn field on this side. —

25. began to sow Wheat in the Corn field on this side the Run at the Mill. —

25. Sowed three Pecks of Wheat (had from Colo. Lewis,[1] of a sort which he says is early and of an extrordinary

house, rent free. The yearly agreement for 1759, dated September 1st, is in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress. Askew seems to have been of a trifling nature and his services were dispensed with in 1770 when a small amount of money was still owing to Washington.

[1] Colonel Fielding Lewis, of 'Kenmore,' Fredericksburg, Virginia. Twice married, first to Catherine Washington, a cousin of George Washington, and, second, to Elizabeth ('Betty'), the only sister of Washington.

Increase, also very large graind) behind ye Garden in drills — Note it begins next the ditch and ends at a stake —

26. Sowed the Remaining part of the Turneps in drills with an early Wheat also abt. 3 Bushels more broad in the samd Ground and ye residue of P. Orchd. with Spelts B.

31 finishd sowing Wheat in Hemp Ground at Rivr. Plantn. and plowd in a good deal of shatterd Hemp Seed — 27 Bushls in all 152 [sic]

NOVEMBER

1*st.* sent 1 Bull, 18 Cows and 5 Calves to Doeg Run in all — 24 head branded on ye Buttock GW

Do. sent 5 Cows, and 29 Yearlings and Calves to the Mill, wch. with 4 there makes 27 head in all viz 5 Cows and 22 Calves and Yearlgs. branded on the Right Shoulder GW —

Do. Out of the Frederick Cattle made the Stock in the Neck up 100 head — these branded on the Right Buttock GW. —

Do. Muddy hole Cattle in all head branded on the left shoulder GW —

6. finishd sowing Wheat at the Mill — viz 19 Bushls. in ye large cut within the Post and Rail fence and 6 B. in ye small cut in wch. with 27 Bushl. sowed the other side makes in all 52 B.

13. finishd Sowing Wheat at Doeg Run viz — on ye other side —

find. in Sepr.....	38 Bush.
Corn Gd. and Do. in one adjg. this.....	5½
large white Do. in Orchd.....	½
In all at Doeg R.....	152
Do. in the Neck.....	152
Do. at Mudy hole.....	75
Do. at the Mill.....	52
Do at home.....	9
The whole years Sowg.....	440

13. finishd getting Corn at the Mill.

1765

November 14–December 31

1766

January 1–January 13

Diaries missing, or not kept

1766

January 14–October 29

Original in Library of Congress

1766

JANUARY

14 Flax at the Mill put out to Rot

18. Flax at Doeg Run put out to Rot

MARCH

21 Sowed Hemp about the old Tobo. House at Muddy hole.

Note, — the latter part of Feby., and all Mar. till the 19th. was extreamely wet and disagreeable — scarce two fair days together and sometimes hard Frosts, insomuch that neither Hoe nor Plow coud be stuck into the Ground, which prevented my sowing Hemp till the 21st. as above. —

22. began to sow Hemp (adjoining the Lane going to Mrs. Wades[1]) at the Mill — sowed as far as a stick drove into the Ground. Also sowed Ditto in ye lower part of *new* Ground at Muddy hole — to a stake First part of this day warm Sun — and southerly Wind — latter part Strong — high Wind at same place.

23. High wind at No. Wt. — cold and Cloudy.

24. Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the second stake — Hard frost — clear, but very cold the first part of the day — the Wind being at No. West. —

25. Hard frost — afterwards warm and hazy — Wind

[1] Washington purchased Mrs. Wade's land in 1773. (*Toner.*)

Southwardly — Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the third Stake, and at the Mill to the Second stake

26. Constant close Rain, from sometime in Night till 3 in the Afternoon — Wind at North East — when it shifted to No.Wt. but did not blow hard.

27. Cloudy, Wind at No.Wt. but not hard, nor very cold — Ground exceeding wet — no Hemp sowed this day.

28 Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the 4th. Stake. — Ground too wet. — No Hemp sowed elsewhere. Wind Westerly, with Clouds, and Rain

29 Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the 5th. Stake — and at Doeg Run (in ye Orchard round Gists [1] House) to the first — (beginng. at the end of it next the Gate) — Hoeing in Farm Dung at the Mill. — Wind at No.West, with some Clouds, and Cool.

30 Cool, and Cloudy all the day — wind Northwardly.

31 sometimes cloudy but warm and pleasant — Wind at South

APRIL [2]

1*st.* Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the Road — at the Mill to the 3d. Stake — and finished the Orchard at Doeg Run —

Wind at No.Et. and very cloudly the whole day — at

[1] John Gist, a blacksmith.

[2] These entries from April 1st to 13th, inclusive, are taken from the pages in the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library. They were abstracted from the original by some unknown vandal and Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet purchased them at a public auction sale.

one O'clock it sat in to Raining which at 6 turnd to Snow

2 Day warm and fine — Wind northwardly in the Morning — Southwardly in the afterwards — Ground too wet to prepare for autumn Hemp

3 Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the first Stake (beging. at ro. and near ye Woods) — at the Mill to the 4th Stake — and at Doeg Run (by the Lane) to the 1st. Stake beginng. at ye great Mulberry —

Clear and pleasant — but not warm — the Wind being Northwardly in the forenoon — calm in the Evening. —

4 Sowed Hemp at Muddy hole to the 2d Stake, at the Mill to ye 5th. and at Doeg Run to the 2.

Hazy — Wind Southwardly and Rain, — at 6 in the afternoon began to Rain. — Ground full Wet for sowing, or Working before

5 Constant Rain at Night, and till 10 O'clock this day — (Wind hard at No. Et.) and cloudy afterwards — at 6 in the Evening sat into close Raining again — No Hemp sowd today

6 Wind at No. Et. and raining all day —: Sunday

7 Raining till 10 Oclock — very cloudy afterwards till Night when it began to Rain again Wind at No East — Ground exceeding wet. —

8 Cloudy the first part of the day — wind westwardly — Ground very wet. —

9 Clear, Wind hard at Northwest Sowed Hemp at the Mill to the 6th. Stake None sowed elsewhere — Ground too wet

10 Fine clear day till late in the afternoon when it clouded — being little Wind Sowed Hemp at the Mill to the 7th. Stake — at Muddy hole to the 3d. Stake — At Doeg Run none sowed —

11. Cloudy, with light showers all day, Wind briskly from the Southward — sowed Hemp at the Mill to the 8th. Stake — at Muddy hole to the 4th. and at Doeg Run to the third —

12 Sowed Hemp at the Mill — none elsewhere ground being wet Clear Wind Northwardly —

13 Sunday — clear and warm — Wind South

JUNE

16 Began to cut my Meadows at Home —

25. finishd Do. — and brought it into Barnes — Weather often Raining — Hay hurt. —

26. Began to Cut my Timothy Meadow at Doeg Run and did not finish it till the 8th of July — the Weather being Rainy and bad. — which almost spoil'd 30,000 weight of Hay. —

JULY

3. Cut my early Wheat behind Garden. —

5. Pull'd my flax at home

7 pulld two patches at Doeg Run began to cut Wheat in the Neck with ye hands there

8 Set into it with my whole force and two Cradlers hired. — my Hay at D— Run finishd yesterday

8 put part of what I pulld at Home in Water

9 My schooner arrived at Colchester

12 finished cuttg. binding and Shocking Wheat in the Neck. — 152 Bushels sowing —

12 took it out, [the pulled flax] and spread it on the Green

14 began Harvest at Muddy hole —

15 finished it — in shocks 75 Bushels sowing

16 began and finishd at the Mill, in Shocks 52 bushels Sowing. —

17 began Harvest at Doeg Run — My Schooner also came up with 10,031 feet of Plank from Occoquan Saw Mills

21 Securd all my Harvest in Shocks at D.R.

22. put into the House. —

23. Sowed Turneps in the flax patch at Home Also Sowed Do. at Muddy hole and ditto at Morris's. —

24. pulld a small patch of Flax at Doeg Run

25. began to Sow Turneps in Drills be hind the Quarter.

26. Sowed Do. in Do. — Do.

28. Sowed a few Do. Do. Do. — hard Rain 28 and 9.

30 Sowed — Do. in Neck —

31 finishd Sowing behind Quartr. in Drills

AUGUST

1 Began to Sow Wheat at the Mill Began to Sow Do. in the Neck in the upper part of the field. —

6. Began to Sow Do. at Muddy hole finished Sowg. Do. in clovr. patch at the Mill. — 9 Bushels

22 Began to Sow Wheat at Doeg Run finishd sowing up Cut in the Neck —

25–26–27. and 28. spreading flax at Home

28 finishd sowing Wheat altogether at the Mill 46½ Bushls. the other side — in all 55½ Bs.

29. finishd Sowing ye field by the Meadow at Doeg Run — 26 Bushels

29. Stopd sowing Wheat at Muddy hole and Doeg Run — sowed 108 at ye first place 18 Bl. in little fd.

29 Began to pull Hemp at the Mill and at Muddy hole — too late for the blossom Hemp by three Weeks or a Month

[SEPTEMBER]

4. 5 and 6*th*. Spreading flax at Doeg Run. Ditto — Do. Do. pulling Peas at Ho. House

8. Began to Cut my Meadows a Second time

10. Began to get Fodder at Muddy hole Quarter and at the Mill

12. Began to Fodder in the Neck

15. Do. . . . . Do. . . . Do. . . at Doeg Run Turnd flax at Home House. —

27. finishd getting and securing fodder at the Mill

30. Ditto — Ditto at Doeg Run — that is, exclusive of what belongd to that Plantation at ye River Quarter. —

OCTOBER

1*st.* 2, 3, and 4. Sowing Wheat Doeg Run

2. finished getting and Securing Fodder at Muddy hole

3. Getting Peas at Ditto — too late a good many of which being rotten on the Ground —

3 and 4 continued Sowing Wheat at Do.

6 Put my English Ram Lamb at 65 Ewes. —

Sheep at home as follows viz		
Old Ewes	64	
Ewe Lambs	1	
Old Weathers	18	
Young Do. this yrs. Lbs.	11	
1 Ram Lamb Engh.	1	95 in all

6. Sent 33 Ewe Lambs to Doeg Run and 2 Rams. 1 of ym. this yrs. Lamb 35 in all. —

8 Finishd getting and securing Fodder in the Neck also that which belongd to Doeg Run there.

9 Sowed a piece of Hemp Gd. at ye Mill in Wheat 2½ Bls. which makes in all thr. 58 B

14 finishd Sowing the little field at Doeg Run with 16 Bls.

28 finishd Sowing large field with Bls.

29 finishd Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole 170 Bushels in all — 18 of wch white Wheat in the little field[1]

[1] In November, 1766, Washington attended the sessions of the Burgesses from November 6th to December 16th, with ten days of traveling.

1766

October 30–December 31

1767

January 1–January 31

Diaries missing, or not kept

1767

February 1–November 20

Original in Library of Congress

1767

FEBRUARY

1 Cloudy and cool in the forenoon and till towards Night. Wind at No. West, gd. not froze.

9 Soft, warm and Lowering, high wind from the Southward. hard rain in the night.

19 Soft morng. somewhat Cloudy and still.

26 Brisk wind from the Southward. Clear, warm and pleasant. According to Colo. West ye greatest part of the next Moon should be as this day i,e, the same kind of weather that happens upon thursday before the change will continue through ye course of the next Moon, at least the first and 2d quarter of it. quere — is not this an old woman's story.

[*Memoranda*]

13*th* Vestry to meet by Qr. appoinmt.

16*th* Vestry to meet at Pohick.

26 Sale of Colo. Colvills Negroes.

MARCH

1 Soft, mild, still and pleasant — somewhat cloudy.

10 fine, clear and mild day — wind for the most part Westwardly and No. West.[1]

[1] From March 12th to April 11th the Burgesses were in session. Washington represented Fairfax County, with John West as a colleague. Washington's

19 fine and Pleasant, very warm. Wind at So. West.

26 Clear and pleasant tho cool.

31 Cloudy, raw and disagreeable. Wind continuing at No. East.

APRIL

1 fine, clear morning, cloudy and cold afterwards. Wind at No. Et. all day.

7 Very cloudy and drizling all day. Wind still Eastwardly.

11 clear and pleasant tho some what cool. Wind Northwardly.

15 Clear Morgn. Wind at No. West and afterward Southwardly.

16. Sowed a little flax at Muddy hole

18. Sowed a little more of Do. by the Road at Ditto.

21. began to Plant Corn in the Neck and at the Mill.

27. began to Plant Ditto at Doeg Run and Muddy hole.

27. Sowed behind the Quarter 1320 Sqr. yds. of flax with a little more than a Peck of Seed.

27. Sowed the same quantity of Ground along side of the flax with little more than ½ Bushel of Hemp Seed.

account against the Colony was for thirty-one days at ten shillings per day; for ten days' traveling and for 'ferriages' going and coming, a total of £21.14.6. (*Ledger A.*)

29. Sowed more flax seed behind the quarter.

30. planted Irish Potatoes behind Do.

MAY

8. Sowed Flax at Muddy hole.

9. My Schooner returnd.

11. Finishd plantg Corn in the Neck, and began with 4 plows to break up the 5 foot cut.

12. Finish'd plantg Corn at the Mill, and began to break up the field round the Overseer's House.

12. Cut 22 old Rams in the Neck and began to shear my Sheep.

14. Finishd plantg. Corn at Muddy Hole.

16. Finishd plantg. at Doeg Run.

16. Finishd breakg. up the 5 foot cut in N[eck] with 4 plows two days, and 5 plows almost 3 days, made in all abt. 20 days work.

18. Sowed flax at Muddy hole by the Pond.

18. Also began to plow Corn at Doeg Run with 3 plows.

18. Set into plowing at Muddy hole w' 3 plows — 1 plow had been at Work a day or two there.

22. Sale of the *Glebe* [1] — 18 Months Credt.

[1] The Glebe house, of Truro Parish, was on the old stage road from Alexandria to Colchester, north of Pohick Church, at what is now called Newington, Virginia.

23. Morris finishd plowing his first cut (Doeg Run) with 3 plows by 12 oclock.

23. Finishd plowg. the 5½ foot cut in the Neck with 4 plows and replanted this and the 5 foot cut there.

25. Early Wheat at Muddy hole begin'g to head — that is the heads of some out some bursting the blade and others swelling Do.

27. Sowed Hemp over again with near 5 pecks of Seed — the first comg. up much too thin.

28. Finishd plowing the 3–9 Inch cut in the Neck.

29. Finishd plowg. all the Mill Corn.

30. Finishd plowg. the other Cut in the Neck.

MAY

22. pulled some Flax and put it into the water at the Wharf — at Night.

23. Finishd setting Corn at Muddy hole and Doeg Run.

24. Began to cut Wheat at Muddy hole. Note, the straw of a good deal of wch. was green.

27. Took out and spread the flax this morng.

The sale was an auction of 385½ acres of Glebe land. It was bought by Daniel McCarty for £322. The church plate was also "exposed to Sale" and bought for Truro Parish, by McCarty, for £26. (*Original Pohick Vestry Register*). This note by Washington was a mere memorandum of action taken by the vestry. See note to diary entry for February 12, 1760, *ante*.

JULY

14. Finishd my Wheat Harvest.

16. Began to cut my Timothy Meadow which had stood too long.

25. Finishd Ditto.

25. Sowed Turnep Seed from Colo. Fairfax's in sheep pens at the House.

25. Sowed Winter Do. from Colo. Lee's in the Neck.

27. Began to Sow Wheat at the Mill with the early White Wheat wch. grew at Muddy hole.

28. Began to Sow Wheat at Muddy hole with the mixd Wheat that grew there.

Also began to Sow Wheat at Doeg Run of the red Chaff from Home.

Also sowed Summer Turnep behd. Garden.

29. Sowed Colo. Fairfax's kind in Flax G[roun]d [ad]joi[ni]ng. Sheep pens.

26. Waggon to be down.

AUGUST

9. Finishd sowing the cut of Corn on the other side at the Mill with 43 Bushels of Wheat.

15. Finishd sowing the 3–9 Inch Cut of Corn in the Neck with 44½ Bushel Wheat.

15. Finishd sowing that half of Muddy hole Corn field with Wheat round the Barn [ ] Bushels.

22. Finishd sowing Wheat on this side at the Mill, viz. 28 Bushels, which makes it all sewed there 71 Bushls.

22. Also finishd the 18 Inch cut at Doeg run sowd therein 35 Bushels of Wheat. The 6 by 3 cut was sowed with 40½ Bushels abt. the 13th.

26. Finishd sowing the 5 Cut of Corn in the Neck with 53 Bushls. Wheat.

SEPTR.

5. Finishd sowing the other half of Muddy hole field with Wheat, viz. [ ] Bushl., wch. makes in all there [Bushels.

Also finishd the two foot cut at Doeg Run with 39 Bushels.

12. Finishd sowing the 5½ foot cut in the Neck with Wheat, viz. 51 Bushels which makes in all there 194 [bushels.]

18. Finishd sowing the 6 by 4 foot cut at Doeg Run with 36 Bushels Sowed the bouling [sic] Rows at Do. with 1½ Bushels, which makes in all there 152 [1] [bushels].

NOVEMBER

20. Vestry in Truro Parish.[2]

[1] This and several other figures were inserted in pencil by Washington.

[2] Washington was chosen a vestryman for Truro Parish, October 25, 1762. October 3, 1763, he and George William Fairfax were chosen as church wardens for Pohick. According to the original Vestry Book of Pohick, Washington attended vestry meetings as follows: 1763, March 28; 1764, October 9; 1766, February 3–4, July 10; 1767, February 23, May 27, July 25, September 28, November 20; 1768, September 9; 1769, March 3, September 21; 1771, July 6, November 29; 1772, June 5; 1774, February 15 and February 24.

1767

November 21–December 31

Diary missing, or not kept

1768

January 1–December 31

Original in Library of Congress

[1768]

JANUARY

Where, & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Fox huntg. in my own Neck[1] with Mr. Robt. Alexander, and Mr. Colvill. Catchd nothing. Captn. Posey with us.

2. Surveying some Lines of my Mt. Vernon Tract of Land.

3. At Home with Doctr. Rumney.[2]

4. Rid to Muddy hole, D: Run, and Mill Plantns.

5. Went into the Neck.

6. Rid to Doeg Run and the Mill before Dinner. Mr. B. Fairfax and Mr. Robt. Alexander here.

7. Fox hunting with the above two Gentn. and Captn. Posey. Started but catchd nothing.

8. Hunting again in the same Comp'y. Started a Fox and run him 4 hours, took the Hounds off at Night.

[1] The Neck Plantation was the name applied for a time to the land immediately above Little Hunting Creek. The Clifton purchase added to this in 1760 and the Neck then became a part of what was usually referred to as the River Farm.

[2] Dr. William Rumney, of Alexandria; came to Alexandria from England in 1763. He was employed by Washington on a fixed annual charge to give medical attention to the servants on the several farms. (*Toner.*)

9. At Home with Mr. B: Fairfax.

10. At Home alone.

11. Running some Lines between me and Mr. Willm. Triplet.

12. Attempted to go into the Neck on the Ice but it wd. not bear. In the Evening Mr. Chs. Dick,[1] Mr. Muse[2] and my Brother Charles came here.

13. At Home with them. Col. Fairfax, Lady, and

14. Ditto — Do. Colo. Fx and fam'y went home in the Evening.

15. At Home with the above Gentlemen and Shooting together.

16. At home all day at Cards[3] — it snowing.

17. At Home with Mr. Dick, &ca.

18. Went to Court and sold Colo. Colvil's L[an]d, returnd again at Night.

19. Went to Belvoir with Mr. Dick, my Bro'r, and

20. Returnd from Do. by the Mill, Doeg Run and Muddy hole.

[1] Charles Dick, a merchant of Fredericksburg. (*Toner.*)

[2] George Muse of Caroline County. (*Toner.*)

[3] The entries for gains and losses at cards and other play are as carefully entered in Washington's accounts as all other income and expenditure. (1765, Jan. 'By Cash set aside for Card money £5.') Grouped throughout the years from 1772 to January 1, 1775, for cash won and lost at home, Fredericksburg, Williamsburg, Annapolis, and other places, the entries show a total loss of £78.5.9 and a corresponding gain of £72.2.6; a loss at play of £6.3.3 in four years.

21. Surveyd the Water courses of my Mt. Vernon Tract of Land, taking advant. of the Ice.[1]

22. Fox hunting with Capt. Posey, started but catch'd nothing.

23. Rid to Muddy hole, and directed paths to be cut for Fox hunting.

24. Rid up to Toulston[2] in order to Fox hunt it.

25. Confind by Rain with Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Alexander.

26. Went out with the Hounds but started no Fox. Some of the Hound run of upon a Deer.

27. Went out again. Started a Fox ab. 10, Run him till 3 and lost him.

28. Returnd Home — found Mr. Tomi Elsey[3] there.

29. Went to Belvoir with Mrs. W[ashingto]n, &ca. after Dinner — left Mr. Ellzey at home.

30. Dined at Belvoir and returnd in the afternoon. Borrowed a hound from Mr. Whiting,[4] as I did 2 from Mr. Alexr.[5] the 28th.

31. At Home alone all day.

[1] Washington took advantage of the river freezing over to survey his shore lines, the ice permitting him to work from the water at will, which greatly simplified the calculating.

[2] 'Towlston Grange' was the name of Bryan Fairfax's estate above Alexandria on Difficult Run. Later, after he had taken orders, Bryan Fairfax built a house about two miles southwest of Alexandria which he called 'Mount Eagle.'

[3] Thomison Ellzey, an attorney of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

[4] This seems to have been Francis Whiting, son of Henry Whiting of Gloucester, who eventually settled in Frederick and died there in 1775. His older brother had married an aunt of Mrs. George William Fairfax, and his son married a daughter of John Carlyle of Alexandria. (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXII, 131.)

[5] This must have been either Robert or Philip, sons of Gerard Alexander (*William and Mary Quarterly*, IX, 253), who appear later as fox-hunting companions of Washington.

[1768]

[JANUARY]

Remarks of ye Weather.

1*st.* Ground exceedg. hard froze, but this day calm and moderate.

2. Moderate — Wind Southwardly — thawing a little

3. Rain, with the Wind at So. West — gd. still hard froze, except the Top of it.

4. Foggy and Warm — Mid day clear — Frost still in the Earth. Calm.

5. Very thick and Foggy in the Morning. Wind afterwards at No. Et. and Rain all day, the Wind shifting southwardly.

6. Warm clear and pleasant in the Morng. Wind high from No. Wt and cool afterwards.

7. Clear and frosty — Wind brisk from NO.W.

8. Clear, frosty and still.

9. Cloudy, with Misty forenoon and constt. Rain afterwards — Wind Southwardly.

10. Weather clear, Wind Southwardly, yet raw and Cold — hard frost.

11. Clear with the Wind at West — Evening very cold and Wind Northwardly — severe Frost — River froze across.

12. Wind at No. West and exceedingly cold and frosty.

13. More moderate, and yet very cold, with a little Snow in the morng. and Eveng clear.

14. Clear and pleast. Wind at South. River still froze.

15. Clear and pleasant. Wind Southwardly — thawed a good deal.

16. Constant Snow the whole day from the Northward.

17. Clear and pleasant — Wind So. West and West — hard frost.

18. Still and cloudy — very like to Snow but broke away abt. Sun Set. Cold.

19. Clear and pleast, morning — Afternoon Raw and cold.

20. Clear, still and warm. Thawd a great deal.

21. Very warm and still. Snow dissolving fast.

22. Warm, still, and clear again — Snow almost gone.

23. No Frost last Night — warm, and clear in the forenoon — cloudy with some Rain in the afternoon — afterwards clear again — Ice broke in the River.

24. Lowering Morning, but very fine and Warm till 7 in the Afternoon, when the Wind shifted to No. East from So.

25. Drizling and Raing. all day — Wind — from No. Et.

26. Wind at No. West — cloudy and cold, with Spits of Snow.

27. Cold — cloudy — and still snowg. — clear and pleast, afterwards — Wind Southwardly.

28. Wind at No. West and very cold.

29. Do. at Do. and Do. River froze up again last Night.

30. Very hard frost last Night, Morng cold but more moderate afterwards. Wind gettg. Southwardly.

31. Lowering — Wind Southwardly and moderate — Ice breaking and dispersing.

[1768]

[JANUARY]

Observations

1*st.* Neck People clearing a piece of ground which was begun the 23d of Decr.

Doeg Run People working in the Swamp which they began to clear this Fall.

Muddy hole People (except two threshing) clearing the Skirt of Woods within ye Fence, 4 Men and 2 Women from Doeg Run assisting.

Mill People also clearing.

6. Doeg Run People finishd grubbing ye Swamp they were in and proceeded to another adjacent.

12. Threshing Wheat at all Plantations. Ground being too hard froze to Grub to any advantage.

16. Finishd my Smith's Shop — that is the Carpenters work of it.

18. Carpenters went to Saw Plank at Doeg Run for finishing the Barn there.

18. Will put new girders into my Mill where they had Sunk.

19. Mike, Tom and Sam went abt. the Overseer's House at Muddy hole.

20. Plantations chiefly employd in getting out Wheat.

22 Davy, George, Jupiter and Ned, finishd sawing at Doeg Run and joind Mike, etca. abt. Overseer's House at Muddy hole.

FEBRUARY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid round into the Neck and directed the running of a Fence there.

2. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill

3. Fox hunting with Captn. Posey and Ld. Washington.[1] Started but catchd nothg.

4. Snowing all day, but not very fast — at home.

[1] Lund Washington (1737–96), of Fairfax County, son of Townsend and Elizabeth (Lund) Washington, of Chotank. Lund Washington's and George Washington's great-grandfathers were brothers. Lund married Elizabeth Foot. The Lawrence and Robert Washingtons, of Chotank, mentioned in George Washington's will, were brothers of Lund, who was manager of the Mount Vernon estate in Washington's absence during the Revolutionary War. (*Toner.*)

5. At home alone till Mr. Robt. Alexander came in the Evening.

6 Fox hunting with Mr. Alexander and Captn. Posey. Started but catchd nothing.

7 At Home alone.

8. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill, and in returng. met Mr. Alexander, Mr. Stoddard[1] and Captn. Posey, who had just catchd 2 foxes. Returnd wt ym. to Dinner.

9. Went out Hunting again. Started a fox, run him four hours, and then lost him. Mr. Stoddard went home. Alexr stayd.

10. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill, Mr. Alexander going in the Morng. as Mr. Magowan[2] did, to Williamsburg.

11. Went into the Neck and returnd to Dinner.

12. Fox hunting with Colo. Fairfax, Captn. McCarty, Mr. Chichester,[3] Posey, Ellzey and Manley,[4] who dind here, with Mrs. Fairfax[5] and Miss Nicholas[6] — catchd two foxes.

[1] Benjamin?

[2] Walter Magowen, who lived in Maryland nearly opposite Mount Vernon, was tutor to the Custis children. He afterwards became an Episcopal minister. Occasionally did copying work for Washington.

[3] Richard Chichester. (*Toner.*)

[4] John Manley, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

[5] Sarah (Cary), Mrs. George William Fairfax, for whom see note to George William Fairfax, diary entry for March 11, 1748, and also Wilson Miles Cary's *Sally Cary*, with notes by F. H. (New York, 1916. Privately printed.)

[6] Daughter of Robert Carter Nicholas. (*Toner.*)

13 Hunting in the same Company. Catchd 2 more foxes. None dind at Mt. Vernon.

14. At home alone.

15. Ditto — Ditto.

16. Went up to Alexa[ndria] and returnd in ye Eveng.

17. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill; returnd to Dinner and alone.

18 Went a ducking between breakfast and dinner. In the afternoon Mr. Thruston,[1] Mr. Alexander and Mr. Carter from Gloster came in.

19 After dinner the above Gentlemen went to Belvoir.

20. Fox hunting with Captn. Posey. Catchd a Fox.

21. At home all day. Mr. Wm. Gardner dind here. A Gentleman from York River[2] came to buy Wheat.

22. Rid to Muddy hole. Doeg Run and the Mill before Dinner, and went out with my Gun after it.

23. Fox hunting with Captn. Posey. Catchd a Fox we suppose, but being dark coud not find it.

24. Went a ducking between breakfast and dinner and killd 2 Mallards and 5 bald faces. Found Doctr. Rumney

[1] Charles Mynn Thruston (1738–1812), of Gloucester. Entered the Episcopal ministry and held a pastorate in Frederick County. Raised a company in the Revolution and was badly wounded at the battle of Trenton. Was called 'the fighting parson.' Moved to New Orleans in 1808 and died there. (*Toner.*)

[2] A Mr. Kirk.

here at Dinner who staid all Night. Mr. Magowan returnd.

25. Doctr. Rumney went away. I went to the Creek but not cross it. Killd 2 Ducks, viz. a sprig tail and Teal.

26. Laid of a Road from Mt. Vernon to the Lain by Mr. Manley's.

27. Went on the Road, clearing between Mt. Vernon and the Mill. In the Evening Mr. Stedlar[1] came.

28. In the afternoon went up to Mr. Robt. Alexander's in order to meet Mr. B. Fairfax and others a fox Huntg. None came this day but Captn. Posey.

29. At Mr. Alexander's all day with his [brother] Phil[2] and Captn. Posey — it raining.

[FEBRUARY]

Observations

1*st.* Carpenters all (except Will) went to Sawing Pailing for a Goose yard.

13. Finishd the Goose Pen at Home. Also finishd clearing the Point of Woods between where Carney[3] and Rollins[4] and Crump[5] livd in the Neck abt. 30 Acres.

18. Rais'd Overseer's House at Muddy hole.

[1] John? Stedler, or Steadler, taught the Custis children music from about 1766 to 1771. (*Toner.*)
[2] Philip Alexander, of Stafford County. (*Toner.*)
[3] John Carney, one of Washington's tenants.
[4] Richard Rollins or Rawlins. (*Toner.*)
[5] Crump, Turner(?), a carpenter.

18. Finishd Threshing and cleaning my Wheat at Doeg Run Plantn. Bushl.

23. Stopd clearing the Field on the Ck. in the Neck, and began upon those pieces of Woods in the other field by Mr. Sheridine's.[1]

26. Began to deliver my Wheat to Mr. Kirk.[2]

26. Carpenter's not having quite finishd the Overseer's Ho. at Muddy hole, for want of some Plank went abt. a Corn Ho. there. Much abt. this time a Hound Bitch Mopsey of Mr. R. Alexander's (now with me) was proud, and shut up chiefly with a black dog Taster who lind her several times as did Tipler once, that is known of. The little Bitch Cloe in the House was also proud at the same time, but whether lined or not can not be known. See how long they go with Pup, and whether both the same time, being very difft. in size.

26 and 27. Transplanted trees of differ't kinds into the Lucern Patch.

MARCH

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Went a fox hunting with the Alex[ande]rs, and Posey; was during the chase (in which nothing was catchd) joind by Mr. Fairfax, Jno. Alexander[3] and Muir.[4]

[1] A tenant of the same name (John Sheridine) lived on the Neck. Sheridan's Point, Potomac River, is named after the former owner of Neck lands.

[2] In Washington's accounts he is entered as Mr. James Kirk, of Maryland, though he is possibly the same individual alluded to in the entry for February 21st, *ante*.

[3] Owner of Pearson's Island. (*Toner.*)

[4] John Muir, merchant of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

2. Hunting again, and catchd a fox with a bobd Tail and cut Ears, after 7 hours chase in wch. most of the Dogs were worsted.

3. Returnd home much disorderd by a Lax, Griping and violent straining.

4. At Home, worse with the above complaints. Sent for Doctr. Rumney who came in the afternn.

5. Very bad the Doctr. staying with me.

6. Something better. Doctr. still here, and Mr. Ramsay came down to see me.

7. Rather better. Doctor went home after breakfast. Mr. Ramsay staid to Dinner.

8. Mending fast. Colo. Thos. Moore calld here on his way from Alex[andria], Home, but made no stay. Colo. Fairfax and Mr. Gilbt. Campbell [1] (Comptroller) Dind here.

9. Still mending — at home alone.

10. Mending still. Rid out. Mr. Peake [2] and Auge. Darrel [3] dind here.

11. At home alone all day.

12. Rid to the new Road, Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy

[1] Gilbert Campbell was the royal Comptroller of the Customs in America and was periodically at Belvoir on inspection of the records of the South Potomac custom-house there maintained.

[2] Humphrey Peake, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

[3] Augustine Darrell, son of Sampson Darrell.

hole Plantations, and found Doctr. Rumney upon my return, who dind and stayd all Night.

13. At Home alone all day.

14. With the people working upon the New Road between breakfast and Dinner.

15. At home alone all day.

16. Hunting with Captn. Posey and L[un]d W[ashington.] Started and catchd a fox in abt. three hours.

17. Rid into the Neck, to Muddy hole and upon the New Road. When I came home found Colo. Carlyle and his Wife and Children there.

18. Went with Colo. Carlyle and our Families to Belvoir. Myself and Mrs. W[ashingto]n returnd leaving the others there. Found Mr. Stedlar at Mt Vernon.

19. At home all day. Mr. Stedlar here.

20. At home all day. Mr. Stedlar still here. In the afternoon Mr. Carlyle and Family returnd from Belvoir.

21. Went to Court. Colo. Carlyle and Family and Sally Carlyle [1] also went up. Mr. Stedlar stay'd.

22. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run and Muddy hole Plantation.

23. Rid out to see and examine whether a Road coud not

[1] Daughter of Colonel Carlyle.

be discovd and opend from Posey's ferry back of Muddy hole Plantn. thereby avoidg. the Gumspring,[1] which I think may be done to advantage.

24. Rid out again with Mr. Peake on the above Acct. and observd that a good Road might be had along Hg. Ck.[2] upon Colo. Mason's Land.

25. Went into the Neck. Grafted some Cherries and began to manure the ground for my Grape vines.

26. Went Fox hunting, but started nothing. Mr. Lawe. Washington[3] came here, and Miss Ramsay[4] in ye Afternoon.

27. At home. Lawe. Washington went away.

28. At home.

29. Fox hunting, with Jacky Custis[5] and Ld. Washington. Catchd a fox after a 3 hr's chase.

30. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill Plantations.

[1] Gum Spring at the head of Little Hunting Creek, about two miles from Mount Vernon. The new road was to avoid unnecessary grades leading to and from the Spring. (*Toner.*)

[2] Hunting Creek.

[3] Lawrence Washington, of Chotank, brother of Lund Washington.

[4] Betsey Ramsay, daughter of William. (*Toner.*)

[5] John Parke Custis, son of Daniel Parke and Martha Dandridge Custis. Washington administered the estate left him by his father. He is referred to by Washington in his letters, diaries, and accounts as Jacky Custis, John, John Parke Custis, and Mr. Custis. He married Eleanor Calvert, daughter of Benedict Calvert, of Maryland. He died in 1781 as the result of illness contracted at the siege of Yorktown where he was acting as a volunteer aide-de-camp to General Washington. He left four children, Elizabeth Parke, Martha Parke, Eleanor Parke, and George Washington Parke. Eleanor Calvert Custis, his widow, married Dr. David Stuart, of Maryland, in 1783.

31. Went into the Neck. At my Return found Doctr. Rumney and Mr. Wm. Crawford at the House. Dr. Rumney went away in the Afternoon.

[MARCH]

Remarks of the Weather.

1. Cool and clear — Wind fresh from the No. West. Ground froze.

2. Cool morning but clear, still, and pleasant afterwards — frost again.

3. Lowering with some sprinkles of Rain.

4. Cool, Wind at No. West and frosty.

5. Cool, and cloudy — Ground froze — towards night Snow — just to whiten the ground.

6. Ground and snow hard froze — clear wind Northwardly.

7. Clear and cool, wind still Northwardly.

8. Frosty Morning — but clear and pleast day — Wind Southwardly.

9. No frost — Clear and pleast. forenoon and midday — but hazy afternoon wind fresh from South.

10. Lowering Morning. Rainy, and Windy afternoon from the So. Ward

11. Clear with high Wind from the So. Wt.

12. Cloudy for the Most part — Wind Southwardly — in the Evening Rain.

13. Wind at No. West and Cool, with a lowering sun, and sometimes Cloudy.

14. Wind Southwardly till the Afternn. then Northwardly with first Rain then Snow, being cloudy and Raw all day.

15. Snow abt. half an Inch thick. Morng. cold and clear. Wind at No. West till the Afternoon then North with a thick Muddy Sky. Ground froze.

16. Ground froze. Morning thick and threatning — but clear afterwards with the Wind Southwardly.

17. Morning frozen and cold, wind Raw from the Northward — but afterwards something warmer but still cold and clear.

18. Hard frost. — clear and cool — Wind at Northwest.

19. Ground froze — Morning threatng. and cold — abt 8 Oclock began Snowg. which it did constantly the whole day from the No. Et. and was one of the most disagreeable days of the whole Winter. Snow abt. 6 Inchs. deep.

20. Cold and boisterous — Wind at No. West — and Snow drifting. Afternoon somewhat more moderate.

21. Moderately warm — Wind Southwestwardly and sometimes lowering but clear aftd.

22. Calm, clear and pleasant, snow melting fast.

23. Calm and cloudy, with a little Rain in the morning — so likewise in the Evening.

Note. This Moon, wch. changd the 18th appeard with the points directly upwards exactly of a height.

24. Clear and cool — wind at No. West

25. Clear — Morning Cool and Wind at No. West. Evening Mild and calm. Ground froze.

26. Morning still clear and warm — Afternoon clear and cool — Wind at No. West.

27. Cloudy and lowering till abt. 3 Oclock then Snowing more or less till Night when it raind a good deal but little Wd.

28. Cloudy and sometimes drifting with but little wind — after Sunsetting clear.

29. Raw, cold and cloudy forenoon — clear and more moderate afternoon. Wind being pretty fresh from No. Wt. all day.

30. Calm, clear and pleast. Morng — afternoon also clear, but more cool — Wind being brisk from Southward.

31. Grey Morng. — clear afterwards and raw — Wind fresh from the Southward.

[MARCH]

Observations.

3*d*. Deliver'd a Load of 508 Bushels of Muddy hole Wheat to Mr. Kirk's [1] ship and my Schooner returnd.

[1] Kirk hired Washington's schooner and paid for it apparently with salt. The account was closed out in 1770 with a loss of ten shillings to Washington.

5. Deliverd another Load of 517½ Bushls. of the Neck Wheat to the above ship and returnd the same day.

5. Finishd cutting down Corn Stocks at all my Plantations.

12. large parts of my Wheat Field at Doeg Run — ye same I believe at the Mill — were found to be exceedingly Injurd by the Frost (and I apprehend by the last frost abt. the 7 and 8th Instt). Upon examining the Wheat which appeard to be so much hurt, I found the Roots for the most part were entirely out of the ground; some indeed had a small fibre or so left in, and here perhaps a green blade might be found in a bunch, but where the Root was quite out, the whole bunch seemd perishd and Perishing.

Note. Watch the Progress of this Wheat, and see if there be any possibility of its taking Root again (as it lyes thick on the gd.)

Near a stake in ye 18 Inch Cut and abt. 100 yds. from the Barracks is a spot of an Acre or so of this kind. Observe this place, being poor gd. also.

12. Carpenters returnd from the Road abt. Muddy hole Corn House.

15. Deliverd the last load of my Wheat to Mr. Kirke's ship which makes 1921 Bushls. delivd him in all — reckg. in 15 Bushls, to be delivd. him by Mr. Digges.

16. Began to list Corn Ground at Muddy hole.

16. Recd. my Goods from Mr. Cary[1] by Captn. Johnston.[2]

[1] Robert Cary & Company, merchants of London. The principal agents of Washington, at this time.

[2] Sea-captain, sailing between England and America.

16. Sent my Vessel abt. 4 Oclock in the afternoon to Mr. Kirk, agreeable to his Letter.

18. Began to lay of my Corn ground in the Neck.

19. Sent Chaunter (a Hound Bitch) up to Toulston, to go to Mr. Fairfax's Dog Forester, or Rockwood, she appearg. to be going Proud. Forrester not beg. at Home she went to Rockwood.

25. Observd a Lamb in my Pasture, being the first fallen from Ewes put to my Ram the [ ]

26. My Vessel returnd from Mr. Kirk's employ abt. Sundown — being 10 days gone.

29 Began to Cork [caulk], and pay the bottom of my Schooner.

30. Finishd my Fencing and began to enlist my Corn Ground at the Mill.

30. Looked again at the Wheat at Doeg Run (particularly abt. the stake near the Barracks) and found no alteration for the better — it appearing to have no root in the Ground.

31. Finishd Corking my Vessel and weeding out my Lucern.

Memms.

If Ewes and Lambs are restrained from wheat Fields and no green food sowd to support them in the Spring, contrive that no more fall after this year till ye last of March.

APRIL

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st*. At home with Mr. Crawford.[1]

2. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill. Mr. Crawford went to Alexandria.

3. Went to Pohick Church [2] and returnd to Dinner. Mr. Crawford returnd in the Afternoon.

4. Fox hunting with Messrs. Chichester, ye Triplets, Manley, Posey, Peake and Adams. Never started a Fox, but did a Deer.

5. At home with Mr. Crawford. Mr. Campbell came here and dind, Mrs. Washington, Miss B. Ramsay and Patcy Curtis [3] went to Belvoir and Returnd.

6. Mr. Crawford set of home, and we (together with Miss Betsy Ramsay) went up to Alexa. to a Ball.

7. We returnd from Alexandria — thro Snow.

8. At home alone — except with Price [4] ye Bricklayer who has been here since Tuesday.

9. Fox hunting with the two Triplets, Mr. Peake and Mr. Manley. Started, but catchd nothing.

[1] William Crawford.

[2] Pohick Church, on Pohick Creek, about seven miles from Mount Vernon. The church now standing is the third Pohick Church to be built. It was finished in 1772. Washington's pew therein is No. 28. (*Toner.*)

[3] 'Patsy' — Martha Custis, youngest child of Daniel Parke and Martha Dandridge Custis. Her brother was John Parke Custis. She died in 1773. (*Toner.*)

[4] Thomas Price. (*Toner.*)

10. At home alone.

11. Planting out Grape Vines according to M[emoran-du]m. Mrs. Posey dined here, and Mr. Alexander and Mr. Payne [1] Sup'd and lodgd.

12. Payne and Alexander went away after Breakfast, and Miss Tracy Digges and her Sister Betty [2] came in the Afternn. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg R., and Mill.

13. At home. The Miss Digges here in the Afternoon. Mr. Chichester came.

14. Fox hunting with Mr. Chichester, Captn. Posey, Mess. Triplet, Peake and Adams.[3] Started but catchd nothing. Posey and Adams dind here, as did Mr. Digges.

15. At home. Mr. Digges and his daughters went away after breakfast.

16. At home alone. In the Evening went into the Neck.

17. Went to Church and returnd to Dinner.

18. Went to Court [4] and returnd in the Evening.

19. Measurd the Field designd for corn at the Mill, and Doeg Run this year.

20. At home alone all day.

21. Rode to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill Plantns. At the first and last of wch. just began to check Corn G'd. Mr. Stedlar came here.

[1] Edward Payne. (*Toner.*)
[2] Daughters of William Digges, Teresa and Elizabeth. (*Toner.*)
[3] Robert Adam, of Alexandria.
[4] At Alexandria he dined at David Arell's who kept a tavern there.

22. At home all day. Mr. Stedlar here.

23. At home all day again. Mr. Stedlar still here.

24. Mr. and Mrs. Peake and her daughter dind here, as also did Mr. Stedlar.

25. Went to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill before Dinner, and into the Neck afterwards.

26. Set of for Williamsburg [1] with Mrs. Washington, Jacky and Patcy Custis and Billy Basset.[2] Lodgd at Mr. Lawson's.[3]

27. Reachd Fredericksburg.[4]

28. Stayed there all day at Colo. Lewis.

29. Proceeded on our journey and reached Hubbard's ordy.[5] in comp. with Colo. Lewis and Mr. Dick.

30. Breakfasted at Todd's Bridge. Dind at Claiborne's and came to Colo. Basset's.

[APRIL]

Observations

2*d*. Sewed a patch of Flax in the Neck.

2. Also sewed a patch at Doeg Run by the last yrs. Turneps.

[1] To attend session of the Burgesses. 'By expenses at Colchester 6*s* 3*d*.' (*Ledger A*.)

[2] Son of Colonel Burwell Bassett.

[3] James Lawson, of Colchester.

[4] April '27. By Exps. at Aquia & Fredg. 10*s* 9*d*.' (*Ledger A*.)

[5] Benjamin (?) Hubbard's Tavern, about forty miles from Fredericksburg on the main road to Williamsburg. (*Toner*.)

6. Sewed part of the Ground at home (the Cowpens) in Flax.

7. Carpenters finishd the Corn Ho. at Muddy hole, and went to trimmg. fish Barr'ls.

11. Planted out Grape Cuttings accordg. to Memm.

12. Sewed remainder of Flax ground at Home. Also sewed Flax Seed at Muddy hole.

12. White fish began to Run, catching 60 or 70 at a Haul with some Her[rin]g.

14. Sowed Flax at Doeg Run at the head of the Meadow.

14. began plowing at Doeg for Corn — that is to list. Ditto Carpenters went to getting staves for Cyder Casks.

18. Began fishing for Herrings with Carpenter's, etca.

21. Began to cross gd. at Muddy hole and the Mill, having Run only a single furrow for a list.

23. The great abundance of Rain which fell within this 48 hours carrd. away my Dam by the Miss Wade's and broke the back Dam by the Mill.

MAY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Rid to a place calld Root's [1] to see a Meadow of Colo. Bassett's Returnd to Din'r.

2. Went to Williamsburg with Colo. Bassett, Colo. Lewis

[1] John Roote. (*Toner.*)

and Mr. Dick. Dind with Mrs. Dawson,[1] and went to the Play.[2]

3. Dined with the Speaker.[3]

4. Dined with Mrs. Dawson, and Suppd at Charlton's.[4]

5. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's.[5]

6. Rid to the Plantations near Williamsburg and dined at Mr. Valentine's.

7. Came up to Colo. Bassett's to Dinner.

8. Went to Church and returnd to Dinner.

9. Went a Fox hunting and catched a Fox after 35 Minutes chace; returnd to Dinner and found the Attorney,[6] his lady and daughter there.

10. Rid to the Brick House[7] and returnd to Dinner; after which went a dragging for Sturgeon.

11. Dined at the Glebe with Mr. Davis.[8]

12. Went to New Kent Court with Colo. Bassett.

[1] Elizabeth (Churchill) Dawson, widow of Commissary William Dawson who was President of the College of William and Mary. Mrs. Dawson kept a fashionable boarding-house in Williamsburg.

[2] Ledger A for May 1st has an entry, 'By Play Tickets £1:7:6.' Washington went to the play also on May 5th.

[3] Peyton Randolph.

[4] Richard Charlton, innkeeper in Williamsburg. (*Toner.*)

[5] Kept a boarding-house in Williamsburg. (*Toner.*)

[6] John Randolph. He supported the King in the Revolutionary War, fled with Lord Dunmore and was suspected by Washington to have been the author of the 'Spurious' Letters of Washington, published anonymously by the British in 1777, in New York.

[7] On York River, opposite the mouth of the Mattapony.

[8] The Reverend Thomas Davis, later minister of Christ Church, Alexandria. He officiated at Washington's funeral. (*Toner.*)

13. Went after Sturgeon and a Gunning.

14. Went to my Plantation in King William by Water and dredgd for Sturgeon, and catchd one.

15. Rid to see Colo. Bassett's Meadow at Root's.

16. Fishing for Sturgeon from Breakfast to Dinner but catchd none.

17. Rid to the Brick House and returnd to Dinner.

18. Did the same and got my Chariot and Horses over to Claiborne's.

19. Went a shooting and hair huntg. with the Hounds, who started a Fox, wch. we catchd.

20. Set of from Colo. Bassett's for Nomony,[1] crossed over to Claiborne's; from thence by Frazer's Ferry [2] to Hob's hole,[3] dining at Webb's Ordinary.

21. Reachd my Brother John's, who and his wife were up the Country. Cross'd over to Mr. Booth's.[4]

22. Went to Church at (Nomony) and returnd to Mr. Booth's to Dinner, who was also from home in Gloucester. Mr. Smith,[5] the Parson, dind with us.

23. At Mr. Booth's all day with Revd. Mr. Smith.

[1] Nomini, on the Potomac, in southern part of Westmoreland County. John Augustine Washington lived and died there. (*Toner.*)

[2] Mattapony River on the Williamsburg road. (*Toner.*)

[3] Hobbs Hole or Hobby's, now Tappahannock, Essex County. Webb's inn was at Hobb's Hole.

[4] Mr. Booth, of Westmoreland, later moved to the Shenandoah Valley. (*Toner.*)

[5] Augustine? Smith. (*Toner.*)

24. Came up to Pope's Creek [1] and staid there all day.

25. Got up to my Brother Sam's to Dinner, found Mrs. Jno. Washington, etca., there.

26. Remaind at my Brother Sam's, where my Brother Jno. came, as also Mr. Lawe. Washington, &ca. to Dinner.

27. Dined at Mr. J. Washington's with the compy. at my Br[other]s.

28. Went to Boyd's [2] hole and returnd to my Brother's to Dinr., where we found Colo. Lewis and my Br. Charles.

29. Went to St. Paul's Church and Dined at my Brother's.[3]

30. Went fishing and dined under Mr. L. Washington's shore.

31. Returnd home, crossing at Hooe's Ferry through Port Tobacco.

[MAY]

Observations.

2. My Carpenters and House People went to Planting Corn at Doeg Run, after they had finished fishing.

3. The hound bitch Mopsey brought 8 Puppys — dis-

[1] 'Wakefield' was bordered by Pope's Creek. The name 'Wakefield' was given to the Westmoreland property many years after Augustine Washington moved from the Pope's Creek place. George Washington's birthplace was referred to as 'Pope's Creek' or 'Bridges' Creek' during his lifetime.

[2] In Stafford (now King George) County, on the Potomac.

[3] May 29. 'By Mr Wm Lee my propn. of a sum Levied by the Mississippi Compy. £16:18:9.'

tinguished by the following Names, viz. Tarter, Jupiter, Trueman, and Tipler (being Dogs), and Truelove, June, Dutchess, and Lady, being the Bitches — in all eight.

23. My Carpenters and House People went to Work at my Mill [sic] repairing the Dams, hightening of them and opening the Race.

29. The bitch Chanter brought five Dog Puppies and 3 Bitch Ditto, which were named as follows, viz. Forrester, Sancho, Ringwood, Drunkard, and Sentwell, and Chanter, Singer and Busy.

JUNE

Where & how my time is Spent

1*st*. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

2. Went into the Neck.

3. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

4. At Home all day writing.

5. Went to Church at Alexandria and dined at Colo. Carlyle's.

6. Rid to Muddy hole and the Mill, and met with Doctr. Rumney upon my Return, who dined here.

7. Went up to Alexandria to meet the Attorney Gen'l, and returnd with him, his Lady and Daughter, Miss Corbin [1] and Majr. Jenifer.[2]

[1] Miss Lettice Corbin, daughter of Richard? Corbin. (*Toner.*)

[2] Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer (1723–90). Born in Charles County, Maryland, and died there. Active in pre-Revolutionary movements; member of the

8. At Home with the above Company, Colo. Fairfax his Lady, and Miss Nicholas, Colo. West and his Wife, and Colo. Carlyle, Captn. Dalton and Mr. Piper — the three last of whom stayd all Night.

9. The Attorney, etca., went away, leavg. Miss Nicholas only here.

10. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

11. Rid to Ditto, Ditto, and Ditto.

12.[1] Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner.

13. Went to Belvoir, where Mr. Seldon his Lady, etca., were.

14. Returnd home again and found Mr. B. Fairfax here. Sent for Doctr. Rumney to Patcy Custis who was seized with fitts. Mr. M. Campbell[2] lodgd here.

15. Colo. Fairfax and Family, together with Mr. Seldon and his, dind here, as also Doctr. Rumney. Mr. B. Fairfax went in ye M[ornin]g.

16. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and M. hole. Mr. Campbell came here in the Eveng.

17. Rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole.

Governor's Council in 1773; President of the Committee of Safety in 1776; delegate to the Continental Congress, 1778–82 and to the United States Constitutional Convention. The origin of the 'of St. Thomas' is doubtful; it may possibly be due to some connection with the St. Thomas River in St. Mary's County, Maryland, or to a remote ancestor's connection with the island of St. Thomas, West Indies.

[1] At this point Washington inadvertently copied in his account of the weather for the 12th and 13th which he afterwards crossed out.

[2] Matthew Campbell, merchant of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

18.–19. At home all day prep'g. Invoices and Letters for England.[1]

20. Went to Court and returnd at Night.

21. Went up again and stayd all Night.

22. Returnd home in the afternoon.

23. At Home all day.

24. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill, before Dinner, and was sent for by express to come to Alexa. to settle and arbitrate an Acct. between Mr. George West[2] and Mr. Chs. Alexander with Mr. Thomson Mason and Mr. Ellzey.

[1] These letters and invoices were to Washington's factors in London, Robert Cary & Co., and to certain London tradesmen. To Cary he registered objection to what he thought precipitate sales of his tobacco at the prevailing London prices which were then below American prices. The goods ordered from Cary were hardware, seeds, dry goods, groceries, gloves, rope, and other plantation supplies. For Mrs. Washington he ordered, among other articles, two handsome stomachers, with sleeve knots made of ribbon, together with necklace strings, etc.; a green satin quilted coat 'not to exceed £3' and 'a handsome grane Winter Silk (but not yellow) not to exceed £10 to be bought of & made by Mrs. Harris into a sacque & Coat for a middle sized Woman.' He had ordered a chariot previously, and now asked to have it carefully packed before it was placed on shipboard, as he did not want it to arrive with any of the panels cracked or split.

From Charles Lawrence, a London tailor, he ordered a suit of clothes of 'fashionable coloured cloth . . . in the best taste to sit easy and loose as Cloaths that are tight always look awkward and are uneasy to ye wearer.' The suits formerly made had been too short. Washington wrote that he was full six feet high and 'not at all inclined to be corpulent'; he wanted 'the Breeches to be made long.' He ordered clothes for John Parke Custis and such other necessaries as pocket-knives, fiddle-strings and a saddle. For Martha Parke Custis he ordered a 'smelling bottle,' scissors, gloves, and among other things 'a very handsome & fashl. Womans Hg. Saddle with Bridle & every thg. compl.'

From John Didsbury, London bootmaker, he ordered shoes for the family. Mrs. Washington's measurement was sent anew, as the last shoes did not fit well and were of poor material. For Miss Custis there were to be four pairs of leather pumps; six pairs of black Callemanen pumps; one pair of black satin and one pair of white satin.

[2] George West, a younger brother of John West, Jr.

25. Returnd Home and remaind there all day. Doctr Rumney came in the afternoon and stayd all Night.

26. At Home. Doctr. Rumney went away in the afternoon.

27. At Home. Colo. Fairfax and his Lady dind here, and returnd in the afternn.

28. Set of for, and Reachd Fredericksburg.

29. Rid round and examind the Wheat Fields there, which were fine.

30. Went to Mr. Boucher's.[1] Dined there and left Jacky Custis. Returnd to Fredericksburg in the Afternn.

[JUNE]

Observations

1*st.* Upon looking over my Wheat I found all those places which had been injurd by the March frosts extreamely thin, low and backward, having branched but little, and looking puny. Indeed, in many places the Ground was entirely naked; and where it was not, there was but too much cause to apprehend that the Wheat would be choaked with Weeds.

It was also observable that all my early Wheat (generally speaking) was headed and heading; the common wheat was but just putting out head; and the Red Straw

[1] The Reverend Jonathan Boucher (1738–1804) came to America in his youth, entered the ministry and officiated at various churches. He opened a school for youth in Caroline County and subsequently removed, with it, to Annapolis, Maryland. When Washington placed John Parke Custis under his care, on this date, the school was in Hanover County. Young Custis removed with him to Annapolis. (*Toner.*)

Wheat had but very little or no appearance of head and was lower than any of the other, although first sown. The heads of the whole appeard short and did not promise any great increase.

It was also remarkable that the Red straw Wheat had a great number of Smutty or blasted heads in the same manner it had last year, where they did put out.

8*th*. Carpenters went to getting the frame for my Barn at the House.

5. The Maryland hound Bitch lady took Forrester and was also servd by Captn, and refusd the Dogs on the 11th.

17. finishd breakg. up Corn Ground at Muddy hole.

18. finishd Do. Do. at the Mill.

22. About this time Captn. Posey's Bitch Countess was discoverd lind to Dabster, and was immediately shut up and none but Sterling sufferd to go to her.

Musick was also in heat and servd promiscuously by all the Dogs, intending to drown her Puppys.

25. The Carpenter's finishd getting the Frame for the Barn at my Ho. House.

28. Began to cut the upper part of my Timothy Meadow.

JULY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Went over to Stafford Court House to a meeting of the Missisipi. Dind and lodged there.

2. Dined at Dumfries and reachd home.

3. At Home all day.

4. Rid to see my Wheat at differt. Places. Doctr. Rumney came here in the afternn.

5. Went to Muddy hole with Doctr. Rumney to see the Cradlers[1] at work.

6. Rid to Muddy hole and Doeg Run after Doctr. Rumney went away. When I returnd found mr. Wm. Lee[2] and Doctr. Lee[3] here.

7. Mr. Lee went away. Mr. Darnel[4] and Daughter, Mr. Geo. Digges[5] and his two eldest Sisters[6] came here and stayd all Night.

8. Doctr. Lee and all the rest went away, and I rid to the Cradlers (cutting my Wheat at the Mill.)

9. Rid to Muddy hole, the Mill, and Doeg Run before Dinner, and to the Mill afterwards, where my People was harvesting.

[1] Andrew Jones, Abner Roberts, David Kinsey, William Black, and Robert Langley were the expert mowers. They were paid five shillings for a day's work. July 26, Eliab Roberts was paid £5.13.0. for cradling.

[2] William Lee (1739–95), brother of Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, and Arthur Lee. He went to England, engaged in business in London, and was elected to the Board of Aldermen of that city. He is often referred to as 'Mr. Alderman Lee.' At the beginning of the Revolutionary War he was of some assistance to the Colonies through his secret intelligence. Forced to leave England, he went to France where he continued his aid to the Colonies. He returned to America in 1779.

[3] Arthur Lee (1740–92). He graduated in medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Was one of the Continental Congress Commissioners in France; quarrelled with Franklin and was recalled. He was also a delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress.

[4] James(?) Darnell. (*Toner.*)

[5] George Digges, son of William of 'Warburton Manor' on the Potomac. Old Fort Washington is on a part of the manor lands.

[6] Teresa and Elizabeth (Betsey).

10. Went to Church and returnd to Dinner.

11. Rid to Muddy hole where three white men were Cradling, and then to the Mill where we were getting in Wheat. Mr. Chichester with his Wife, Miss S. McCarty[1] and Dr. Rumney came.

12. Rid to Muddy hole before breakfast, where all hands were harvesting the Wheat. The company went away.

13. Went into the Neck, where I this day began my Harvest. Colo. Fairfax and Doctr. Lee dind here and returnd.

14. Attended in the Neck again.

15. Went over again and drove back by Rain about one oclock, which continued all that afternoon.

16. Went by Muddy hole and Doeg Run to the vestry at Pohick Church. Stayd there till half after 3 oclock and only 4 Members coming, returnd by Captn. McCarty's and dind there.

17. At home all day.

18. In the Neck with my People Harvesting.

19. In Ditto with Ditto. Mr. Richd. Graham[2] came here in the afternoon.

20. In Ditto with Do. in the Forenoon. In the afternoon went with them to cut the Wheat at Doeg Run.

[1] Sini, daughter of Captain Daniel McCarty. (*Toner.*)
[2] Richard Graham, Dumfries merchant. (*Toner.*)

21. Went to the Harvest Field at Ditto.

22. Rid to Ditto in the forenoon with my Wife and Patcy Custis.

23. Rid to Ditto in the forenoon, where I met with one Russel,[1] a Tenant of mine upon the Land I bought of Carter's Estate, coming down to see upon what terms he could get the Land.

24. Went to Pohick Church.

25. Went to Alexandria and bought a Bricklayer from Mr. Piper and returnd to Dinner. In the afternoon Mr. R. Alexander came.

26. Rid with Mr. Alexander to my Meadow and returnd with him to Dinner. Mr. Vale. Crawford here. They went away.

27. Rid to the Meadow again. Vale. Crawford and his Br. Wm. both came this afternoon.

28. Went to the Meadow with the above two.

29. But little Wind — that Southwardly — very warm. Rid to the Meadow in the afternn; writg. in the Morn.

30. Rid into the Neck and from thence to Doeg Run, where we were Haymakg. Colo. Carlyle and Lady came last N[ight]: and went to day.

31. Went to Alexa. Church. Dind. at Colo. Carlyle's and returnd in the afternoon.

[1] George Russell, tenant on the Fauquier County land.

[JULY]

Observations.

2. finishd going over my Corn ground in the Neck — both with the Plows and Hoes.

4. Began to cut my Wheat at the Mill, but upon examination, finding it too green desisted.

Note, upon looking into my Wheat the Rust was observd to be more or less in it all; but except some at Doeg Run it was thought no great damage woud follow, as the Wheat was rather too forward.

5. Jonathan Palmer[1] coming down last night, and examining my Wheat to day, was of opinion that some of Muddy hole field was fit, at least might be cut with safety. Accordingly began it, with himself, 3 other white Men, and 4 Negroe Cradlers, letting the grain lye upon the stubble abt. 2 days to dry.

8. Began to cut the Wheat at the Mill in the field Round the Overseer's House, which was cut and abt. 4 Acres in the other this day by 10 and sometimes 11 cradles, which were all that worked amounting in the whole to abt. 40 Acres.

9. Six and sometimes 7 Cradles cut the remainder of the field (abt. 28 Acres) on this side to day.

The Wheat at Muddy hole was (that is all that was cut down) got into shocks by 11 Oclock to day, and abt. ¾ of the field round the Overseer's House at the Mill.

9. Pulld the Flax at Muddy hole.

[1] Jonathan Palmer, a practical farmer, later employed by Washington on the Mount Vernon farms. (*Toner.*)

11 and 12*th.* Pulld the Flax at home.

11. Got in the most of the Mill Wheat, but was prevented finishing by Rain. Three white Men (Cradlers) cut down abt. 10 or 12 Acres of Muddy hole Wheat.

12. Hands went to Muddy hole and finishd Harvesting the wheat there — that is cutting and securing it in shocks.

13. Some hands went and got the Residue of the Mill Wheat into the House, and all the Rest with the Cradlers went into the Neck and cut down and securd little more than 20 Acres of Wheat.

14. The hands from the Mill joind the others, and altogether finishd the Cut of Wheat (containing 50 Acres) at the Orchard point, great part of which was very thick, Rank and heavy cuttg.

15. Began cuttg. the Wheat next to it on the River side. Abt. One Oclock was stopd. by Rain, which continued the whole afternoon.

16. Finishd this cut and began the one next to the House. This day it also Raind and stopd the Harvest abt. an hour or two.

17. Dischargd three Cradlers, keepg. only Jonathan Palmer and Eliab Roberts.[1]

18. Nine Cradlers at work, including the two white men.

20*th.* About 11 Oclock finishd Harvesting the Wheat in the Neck; that is cutting it down and securing it in shocks.

[1] In Ledger A, Washington has entered this payment as to Abner Roberts.

In the whole, allowing for the time lost by Rain, we were six days doing it.

20. About 2 Oclock in the Afternoon began to cut the Field at Doeg Run, containing 150 Acres, with 10 Cradlers — 3 of them sorry hands.

21. Finishd one quarter of the above field abt. 2 Oclock. Note this cut was in places greatly injured by the Rust.

22. About 2 Oclock finishd another Cut in this field, being of the same size of the last. This was also injured by Rust as well as by the frosts.

23. At 12 Oclock finishd the third cut of 37½ Acres at Doeg Run and clapd into the last one.

25. Finishd the last cut abt. One Oclock this day (Monday) part of wch. was much hurt by the Rust, and cut down the small piece at home and securd it.

Note. From the most accurate experiments I coud make this year upon Wheat siezd with the Rust before it is fully formd and beginning to Harden, it appears to be a matter of very little consequence whether it is cut down so soon as it is siezd with this distemper (I mean the parts of the field that are so) or suffered to stand; for in either case the grain perishes and has little or no flower in it. That indeed wch. is suffered to stand may gain a little, and but a little, in respect to the grain, and the other in respect to the straw, so that I think it is nearly equal wch. of the two methods is followed.

Note also — from this year's experiments, it appears certain that Wheat may be cut down (suffering it to take a day or two's Sun) much sooner than it generally is. I took Wheat of three differt. degrees of Ripeness, i. e., some

whose straw and head was green (but the grain of full size and Milky); some whose straw from the upper joint was colouring; and some that the straw from the said joint was cold, but the Knots (at the joints) Green, and observd after they had lain 2 or 3 days in the sun that the grain of the first was but little shrunk, the 2d scarce perceptable, and the last plump and full, by wch. it evidently appears that to cut Wheat Knot green is not only safe but the most desirable state it can be cut in; and that there is a large q[uanti]ty. The question is, whether it may not be better to begin while the Wheat is colouring from the upper joint, as the grain will loose but little (if any) than to cut it in an overripe state, when it may loose a good deal more by shattering. For my part I am clear it is better to cut it green and shall have no reluctance to practice where the whole cannot be cut at the exact period one woud choose it.

26. Began to cut my Timothy Meadow.

30. finishd Do. and got into Stacks without damage.

About the 27 and 28 Sowed some Turnep Seed in Corn Ground at Morris's — that is at Doeg Run Plant.

Memm. on the 30th of this Month I agreed with Jonathan Palmer to come and Work with my Carpenters; either at their Trade — Coopering — or, in short at anything that he may be set about. In consideration of which, I am to pay him £40 pr. Ann; allow him 400 lbs of Meat and 20 Bushels of Indian Corn. I am also to allow him to keep two Milch Cows (one half of whose Increase I am to have), and to have Wheat for which he is to pay. He is to be allowed a Garden and I am also to take his Waggon at £17, if he brings it free from damage, and it is no older than he says — that is about a 12 Month. Note, he is to be here as early as possible in April — if not in March.

AUGUST

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Went to Belvoir and dined; returnd in the afternoon.

2. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole. Miss Manly[1] dind here and Mr. Alex[ande]r came in the Evening.

3. Mr. Alexander and Miss Manley went away. Rid to the Mill and Muddy hole.

4. Went a fox hunting in the Neck with Lund Washington and Mr. Thos. Triplet. Started nothing.

5. Went by Muddy hole, the Mill, and Doeg Run Plantations to a Race at Cameron.[2] Returnd in the Evening.

6–7. At home all day.

8. Went a fox hunting, but started nothing. Visited Plantations in the Neck and Mill.

9. At home all day.

[1] Molly Manley, daughter of Harrison Manley. (*Toner.*)

[2] In 1746, John Colvill and John Minor sought to establish a town at the head of Hunting Creek, in rivalry to the 'Belhaven' which was then growing up about the Hunting Creek warehouse on the Potomac. Bidding for the support of Lord Fairfax, they gave this proposed town the name 'Cameron.' Although their plans were urged upon the Assembly in 1749, when the petition to establish Alexandria was under consideration, they failed. Though there was never anything on the site but the ordinary, or tavern, marked on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map, the name persisted because it marked the junction of all the roads leading into Alexandria. Races and musters of the militia were held there and the Truro Vestry made it the point of departure of processionings. At the end of the century the 'Cameron Mills' perpetuated the tradition, and the waters which actuated those mills are still marked 'Cameron Run' on the modern map.

10. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run and Muddy hole and returnd to Dinner.

11. Rid to the same places as yesterday and returnd to Dinner.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill, and returnd to Dinner, when I found Dr. Rumney.

13. The hounds havg. started a Fox in self huntg. we followed and run it after sevl. hours chase into a hold, when digging it out, it escapd. The Doctr. went home.

14. At home. Mrs. Fairfax and Miss Nicholas came in the afternoon

15. Went to Court.[1] Mr. Igns. Digges,[2] Mr. Lee,[3] and Mr. Hill[4] came here.

16. At home with the above Gentlemen. Mrs. Fairfax and Miss Nicholas went home after Dinner.

17. Dind at Belvoir with the above Gentlemen, and returnd in the afternoon.

18. Rid round all my Plantations after the above Gentlemen went away.

19. At home. Settled and paid the Sheriff.[5]

[1] 'Augt. 15. By Club at Arrols' [Alexandria] 6*s*. 3*d*. (*Ledger A*.)

[2] Ignatius Digges, of Prince George County, Maryland, brother of William Digges of 'Warburton.' (*Toner*.)

[3] Thomas Sim Lee (1745–1819) married a daughter of Ignatius Digges. Delegate to the Continental Congress, 1783–84; selected for the United States Constitutional Convention, but declined to serve; elected United States Senator from Maryland in 1794, but declined to serve. Governor of the State, 1780–82 and again 1793–94.

[4] Hill ——, presumably of Charles County, Maryland. (*Toner*.)

[5] William Adam was sheriff of Fairfax County, but Pierce Bayley, the sub-

20. Set out for my Brother Sam's and Nomony. Crossd at the Mouth of Nangomy and went to my Brother's.

21. At my Brother's. Colo. Lewis and my Brothr. Charles came there.

22. Still at my Brother's with other Company — his Child[1] being Christned.

23. Hauling the Sein under Mr. Lawrence Washington's shore.

24. Imbarkd on board my Schooner for Nomony. Lay of Captn. Laidler's.[2]

25. Hauling the Sein upon the Bar of Cedar Point for Sheeps heads but catchd none. Run down below Mouth of Machodack[3] and came to.

26. Reachd my Brother John's at Night.

27. Hauling the Sein upon Hollis's[4] Marsh Bar and elsewhere for Sheeps heads, but catchd none.

28. Went to Nomony Church and returnd to my Brother's to Dinner.

29. Went into Machodack Ck. fishing, and dind with the Revd. Mr. Smith.

sheriff of the County, was also collector for Truro Parish. Washington's Papers contain a number of memoranda of parish tithes due and paid.

[1] This was one of the children that did not grow up to maturity.

[2] Came to or anchored off Captain Laidler's place. The Maryland landing of Hooe's ferry was known as Laidler's.

[3] Machodoc Creek, Westmoreland County.

[4] At upper cape of Nomoni Creek.

30. Hauling the Sein on the Bars near Hollis's Marsh and other places.

31. Dined with Mr. Jno. Smith[1] who was maryed yesterday to the widow Lee.[2]

[AUGUST]

Remarks of the Weather.

1. but little Wind and yet not very warm.

2. Clear and warm — Wind Eastwardly.

3. Wind Eastwardly — with appearances of Rain but none fell.

4. But little Wind with great appearance of a settled Rain afternoon tho not enough fell to make the House eves Run.

5. Very warm with the wind Southwardly.

6. Exceeding hot — still till the Evening, then a slight breeze from the Southward.

7. Very warm, wind Southwardly — Abt. 3 Oclock a slight Shower here and better at the Mill and Doeg Run — to the No. Wt. and Southward the appearance of a great deal of Rain.

8. Cloudy Morning, with Showers in difft. places but none here. Wind Southwardly.

[1] John Smith, of Westmoreland County, later moved to Shooters Hill, Middlesex County, Virginia. Toner states that he was called 'The inoculator.'

[2] Mrs. Mary Lee, daughter of the Reverend Thomas Smith, of Cople Parish. John Smith was her third husband. (*Toner.*)

9. Clouds, with some times a mist till abt. one oclock — after which two or three smart showers for a few Minutes from the S. W.

10. A fine settled Rain from the Northward for two or three hours in the Morning — with slight showers afterwards.

11. Cool Wind being at No. West with gt. appearances of Rain — but none fell.

12. Clear — and tolerably warm — Wind southwardly.

13. Warm with very little Wind — cloudy to the Westward — but no Rain here.

14. Wind abt. Southwest and tolerably fresh otherwise warm — Cloud to the Westward and thunder with a great deal of Rain upwards — but none here.

15. Great appearances of Rain but none fell with us — warm.

16. Clear and warm with very little wind.

17. Clear and warm in the first part of the day — with a fine Rain tho rather heavy abt. 5 Oclock lasting 2 hours first from the So. West — then the North.

18. Clear and warm — also still.

19. Clear with the Wind fresh from the No. West — and cool.

20. Clear and not warm — wind, what little there was, abt. So. West.

21. Clear and cool — wind So. West.

22. Clear and warm with very little Wind from the So. West — abt. 11 Oclock at Night the Wind (witht. any Cloud or apparent cause) came out hard at No. West and blew so all night.

23. The Wind fresh from the No. West all day and very cold.

24. Warmer, but still cool, with the Wind from the Eastward.

25. Warm with very little Wind and that Southwardly.

26. Exceeding Hot with very little or no Wind all day.

27. Very warm also with very little wind — abt. 1 Oclock Thunder, but no Rain, — at Nomony.

28. Warm with but little Wind and some Clouds, but no Rain.

29. Brisk Eastwardly Wind in the Morning — calm mid day, and Westwardly wind in the Evening.

30. Very calm — and warm all day.

31. Clear with the Wind Westwardly and not warm.[1]

Observations in August.

1*st.* Began to tread out Wheat at the Mill. Also began to draw it in, in the Neck.

[1] From this point on the weather record is omitted as unessential. Enough has been printed to show the character of the entries and, only where Washington noted the weather in the regular diary record and the notation seems to have some bearing on the other matters recorded, will it be reproduced. In the later diaries Washington incorporated the weather, at times, with the daily entry.

4. Began to draw it in (that is to carry it from the field on this side the Run over to the Barn) with only my Ox Cart at Doeg R[un.]

5. Began to cut my Timothy Seed there. Getting Wheat in at Muddy hole.

8. Sowed Turnep Seed at home, in the Neck and at Muddy hole Plantn.

6. The Hound Bitch Lady brought four Puppys, that is 3 dogs and a bitch distinguished by the following names, viz. that with the most black spots Vulcan, the other black spotted Dog Searcher, the Red spotted Dog Rover, and the red spotted bitch Sweetlips.

8. Began to Sow Wheat at the Mill and at Doeg Run.

10. Sewed Turnips at the Mill.

11. Began to beat Cyder at Doeg Run, Muddy hole and the Neck.

15. Set in to Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole.

26. finishd drawing in and securing my Wheat in the Neck.

29. Began to Sow Wheat at Ditto.

SEPTEMBER

Where & how my time is spent.

1. Set out from Nomony in my return to Chotanck.[1]

[1] A local name for the community on Chotank Creek, in Stafford (now King George) County.

Lodgd on board the Vessel between Swan Point and Ced[ar] P[oint].

2. Came up as high as Hoes ferry and Walk[ed] to my Brother Sam's.

3. Went to Mr. John Stith's[1] and dind there. Returnd in the after noon.

4. Went to Church, dind at Colo. Harrison's[2] and returnd to my Brs. in the afternoon.

5. Crossed over to the lower point of Nangamy where I met my Chariot and returnd home.

6. Went in the Forenoon to the Mill, Doeg Run and Muddy hole. In the Afternoon paid a visit to Majr. Fairfax[3] (Brother to Lord Fx) at Belvoir.

7. Dined at Belvoir with Mrs. W[ashingto]n etca.

8. Went to a Ball in Alexandria.

[1] John Stith, of King George County, married Anne, daughter of Lawrence Washington, of Chotank. His granddaughter, Ariana, married Warner Washington in 1805.

[2] Colonel Nathaniel Harrison (1703–91), of Brandon, on James River. In 1748 he married Lucy, daughter of Robert ('King') Carter and widow of William Fitzhugh, of Eagle's Nest in Stafford, and for many years lived at Eagle's Nest, where Washington visited him.

[3] Robert, seventh Lord Fairfax of Cameron (1706–93), youngest child of Thomas (fifth Lord Fairfax) and Catherine Culpeper, sometimes called Major Fairfax, came to Virginia for the first time in 1768 and was a frequent visitor at Belvoir while there. He returned to England before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War and died there. By his will, which, of necessity, merely confirmed his mother's, all his American lands were devised to the Reverend Denny Martin Fairfax.

9. Proceeded to the Meeting of our vestry at the New Church[1] and lodgd at Captn. Edwd. Payne's.[2]

10. Returnd home and dind at Belvoir with Lord Fairfax etca.

11. At Home all day.

12. Lord Fairfax and his Brother and Colo. Fairfax and Mr. B. Fairfax dind here. The latter stayd all Night.

13. Went a fox huntg. with Lord Fairfax, Colo. Fairfax and B. Fairfax. Catchd nothg.

14. Mr. B. Fairfax and myself went a huntg. Started a Fox and run it into a hole but did not catch it.

15. Dined at Belvoir with Colo. Robt. Burwell.[3]

16. Went into the Neck; returnd to dinner.

17. At home. Colo. Robt. Burwell, Mr. Grymes[4] and Colo. Fairfax dind here. . Ye latter went home in the Evening.

18. Colo. and Mrs. Fairfax dind and lodgd here.

19. Went to Court with Colo. Burwell, &ca.

[1] The 'New Church' here mentioned was that chapel of ease of Truro Parish which was built on the Ox Road above the springs of Pohick Run, near the present-day Fairfax Court-House. It was usually called 'Payne's Church,' as Edward Payne, a Truro vestryman, whom Washington visited on this occasion, built the church under contract with the Truro Vestry, in 1766, at a contract price of £579. The interesting history of this church is told by Dr. E. L. Goodwin in his edition of Philip Slaughter's *History of Truro Parish* (Philadelphia, 1908).

[2] A fellow vestryman of Truro Parish. (See preceding note.)

[3] Robert Burwell, of Williamsburg, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

[4] Of Dumfries, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

20. Colo. Burwell, &ca. went away to Belvoir; and [I with] Mrs. Washington and ye two childn. went up to Alexandria to see the Inconstant, or Way to Win him Acted.

21. Stayd in Town all day and saw the Tragedy of Douglas Playd.[1]

22. Came home in the forenoon.

23. Went a fox hunting and catchd a Bitch Fox after abt. 2 Hours Chase.

24. At Home all day. Colo. Henry Lee[2] and Lady and Miss Ballendine[3] came to dinner and stayd all Night.

25. At Home. The above Company went away after Breakfast.

26. Went Fox huntg. in the Neck. Started and run a Fox or Foxes 3 Hours and then lost.

27. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

28. Dined at Colo. Fairfax's and returnd in the afternoon.

29. Went to a Purse Race at Accatinck[4] and returnd with Messrs. Robt. and George Alexander.

[1] For the play tickets for Mrs. Washington and the children and for the tragedy of Douglas the expense was £3.12.6. (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Father of 'Light Horse Harry' Lee; lived near Dumfries. Married Lucy Grymes, of Westmoreland County. He was a justice of the peace and a member of the House of Burgesses for several sessions. (*Toner.*)

[3] Miss Sally Ballendine, daughter of John Ballendine. (*Toner.*)

[4] Accotink, about four miles below Mount Vernon at the mouth of Accotink Creek. Washington entered one of his horses in a pacing race and paid Robert Sandford 12*s.* to ride him. Ledger A also notes an expense of 12*s.* 6*d.* at the Accotink race this date.

30. At Home all day. After Dinner Mr. Geo. Alexander went away, the other (Robt.) stayd.

[SEPTEMBER]

Observations

6. My Ox Cart finishd drawing in the Wheat at Doeg Run, but during this time it was employd in getting home the Cyder from all the Plantations.

14. Finishd Sowing the Second cut of Wheat in the Neck which compleated the half of the Corn Ground there.

16. Anointed all my Hounds (as well as Puppies) which appeard to have the Mange with Hogs Lard and Brimstone.

17. Got done Sowing Wheat at Doeg Run. Sowed 92½ Bushels. The Hound Bitch Mopsey going proud, was lind by my Water dog [1] Pilot before it was discoverd; after which she was shut up with a hound dog, old Harry.

18. My Schooner Sail'd for Suffolk for a load of shingles.

22. Spread my Flax for Rotting at the Home House.

23. Finishd Sowing the third Cut of Wheat in the Neck.

27. Spread Flax for Rotting at Doeg Run.

27. Began to Cut Tops at Doeg Run.

28. Finishd Sowing Wheat at Muddy hole. The field took 106 Bushls. to Sow.

[1] Water spaniel.

OCTOBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Fox huntg. back of Mr. Barry's[1] with Mr. Robt. Alexander, Mr. Manley and Captn. Posey. Started and catchd a bitch Fox. Mr. Stedlar came here in the afternoon.

2. At home. Mr. Alexander went away before breakfast, Mr. Stedlar rem'd all day.

3. Clear and pleasant with very little Wind. Rid to Muddy hole and Doeg Run. Miss Sally Carlyle[2] came here.

4. Went into the Neck and up the Creek after Blew Wings.[3]

5. Went to Alexandria after an early dinner to see a ship (the Jenny) Launched, but was disappointed and came home.

6. Went up again, saw the Ship Launchd; stayd all night to a Ball and set up all Night.[4]

7. Came home in the Morning and remaind. Mr. Townd. Dade[5] (of Chotk.) came here.

[1] John Barry, clerk of the Truro Vestry in 1765 in succession to his father, Edward Barry. He died in 1775.

[2] Daughter of Colonel John Carlyle, of Alexandria.

[3] A species of teal duck.

[4] Part of this night was spent at cards at which Washington lost 19*s*.

[5] There were two Townshend Dades in Washington's day. The one here distinguished as of Chotank lived in Stafford, where he was a justice and a member of the St. Paul's Vestry. The younger, usually designated 'Jr.,' lived in Fairfax, was elected to the vestry of Fairfax Parish on its organization in 1765, served also as a justice of the county, was one of the Committee of Safety nominated by the Fairfax Resolves of 1774, and died in 1781. For this interesting family see *Hayden, Virginia Genealogies*, p. 732.

8. Went Fox huntg. (in the Neck) in the forenoon. Started but catchd nothing; and in the afternoon went up the Ck. after Blew Wings. Killd 7 or 8.

9. At Home all day. Mr. Dade went away.

10. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill. Captn. McCabe[1] dind here.

11. At home all day alone.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill in the forenoon; in the afternoon went into the Neck.

13. Went a fox hunting and catchd a Bitch Fox after two hours chase.

14. Went into the Neck in the forenoon.

15. Went a hunting with Captn. Posey and Ld. Washington. Catchd a Bitch Fox after a chace of 1 Hour and 10 Minutes.

16. Went to Pohick Church. Dind at Captn. McCarty's and came home at Night. Doctr. Rumney who came here last Night went away this Morning and Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Adams came here at Night.

17. At Home all day. Messrs. Ramsay and Adams went home this Evening.

18. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill.

19. Set of on my Journey to Williamsburg and reachd Colo. Henry Lee's to Dinner.

[1] A sea-captain, in the West India trade. (*Toner.*)

20. Detaind there all day by Rain.

21. Reachd Fredericksburg, found Warner Washington,[1] &ca. there.

22. Dined at Parker's Ordy.[2] and lodgd at Mr. Benjn. Hubbard's — Colo. Lewis' also.

23. Dined at the Causey[3] and got to Colo. Bassetts.

24. Dined at Jos[ep]h Valentine's, sent Chairs and Horses over James River, and lodgd in Wms.burg ourselves.[4]

25. Crossed James River[5] and by Rain was forcd to lodge at one Captn. Stowe's.

26. Breakfasted in Suffolk; dined and lodgd in the Dismal Swamp[6] at Jno. Washington's.[7]

27. Went up to our Plantation at Norfleet's in Carolina and returnd in the aftern.

28. Went into the Pond[8] with Colo. Lewis, Majr. Reddick and Jno. Washington, and at Night went to ye Majrs.

[1] Warner Washington (1715–91), eldest son of John and Catherine (Whiting) Washington, first cousin to George Washington. Warner married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel William Macon, of New Kent, and, after her death, Hannah Fairfax, daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax. (*Toner.*)

[2] On main road from Fredericksburg to Williamsburg and about twenty miles from the former. (*Toner.*) The term 'ordinary' was the usual Virginia designation for public inn, tavern, or roadhouse.

[3] Causeway.

[4] 'By [dinner] & Ferriages at Claibornes 6*s* 6*d*. By Ditto at Todds Bridge,' 2*s*. 8*d*. (*Ledger A.*)

[5] 'By Ferriages at Hog Island,' 7*s*. 6*d*.

[6] In October, 1768, Washington paid Colonel Lewis £56.2.2 for his part of the share, in the Dismal Swamp Adventure, formerly owned by the late Speaker, John Robinson.

[7] Relationship of this John Washington with George has not been traced. (*Toner.*)

[8] Lake Drummond?

29. Got to Smithfield[1] in return to Wmsburg.

30. Set out early; breakfasted at Hog Island[2] and dined in Wms[burg].

31. Dined at the Mayor's Ent'd. of the Govr.[3] in Ditto.

[OCTOBER]

Observations.

1*st.* The hound Bitch Tipsey was lind by the little Spaniel dog Pompey, before she was shut up in the House with old Harry.

4. Finishd Sowing Wheat at the Mill, which field took 75 Bushels

5. Finishd Sowing in the Neck. This field took 215 Bushels, which makes the quantities sowed as follows, viz.

at Doeg Run	92½	Bush.
Muddy hole	106½	
Mill	75	
Neck	216	
	490	

5. Began getting Fodder at the Mill.

6. Began getting Ditto in the Neck.

11. Sowed Apple Pummice in the New Garden — from Crab Apples.

15. Finishd pulling (but not securing) Fodder at Doeg Run Quarter. Did the same also at Muddy hole.

[1] Isle of Wight County.
[2] James River, a few miles below Jamestown.
[3] Norbonne Berkeley, Baron Botetourt, of Williamsburg.

NOVEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent

1. In Williamsburg Dined at the Speaker's,[1] with many Gentlemen.

2. In Ditto. Dined at the Attorney Genl's with Lord Botetourt (ye Govr.) and many other Gentlemen.

3. In Ditto. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's.

4. In Ditto. Dined with several Gentlemen at Ayscough's.[2] Colo. Byrd's Lottery[3] began drawing.

5. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's, where I had spent all my Evenings since I came to Town.

6. Left Williamsburg, and Dined and lodgd at Colo. Bassett's.

7. Set out for home with Betcey Dandridge.[4] Dind at King Wm. Court Ho. and lodgd at Mr. Wm. Aylett's.[5]

8. Dined at Parker's and lodgd at Fredericksburg.

9. Reached home in about 7 Hours and an half; found Doctr. Rum[ne]y and Miss Ram[sa]y here.

[1] Peyton Randolph (1721–75), who had succeeded John Robinson as Speaker.

[2] In Williamsburg.

[3] Colonel William Byrd. The lottery was for the disposal of lots in Richmond, Virginia. 1769, May 4. 'By Cash paid Peyton Randolph, Esqr. for my tenth of 100 Tickets taken in Partnership with himself and others in Colo. Byrds Lottery £50.' (*Ledger A.*) Washington won seven prizes on his tickets, which numbered 4949 to 4968 and his winnings amounted in all to 568½ acres.

[4] Daughter of William Dandridge and niece of Martha Washington. (*Toner.*)

[5] On Mattapony River, about eight miles above King William Court-House on the Fredericksburg road. (*Toner.*)

10. At Home all day. The Doctr. and Miss Ramsay went home.

11. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg run, and the Mill. Mr. Magowan and Mr. Stedlar came to Dinner, as Mr. R. Alex. did in the Aftern.

12. Went Fox huntg. in the Neck. Started and was run out of hearg. of the Dogs, owing to the Wind. Whether they catchd or not is not known.

13. Went to Pohick Church and dined at Home with Mr. Ths. Triplet H. Manley[1] and Mr. Peake.

14. Rid to Muddy hole and all my Plantns.

15. Went a Fox hunting in the Neck; catchd a bitch fox, after an hour and 40 Minutes Chace.

16. Went to Colo. Fairfax's and dind with Mrs. W[ashingto]n and Miss Dandridge. Returnd in the af[te]r[noon.]

17. Went up to a Race by Mr. Beckwith's[2] and lodgd at Mr. Edwd. Payne's.

18. Returnd home, breakfasted at Captn. McCarty's, and came by the Mill and Muddy Ho.

19. At home all day, alone.

20. At home all day, alone.

21. Went up to Court and returnd in the Evening with my Brothr. John.

[1] Harrison Manley, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

[2] Of Fairfax County, near Pohick Church. 'Expences at Race 5/6.' (*Ledger A.*)

22. Went a fox huntg. with Lord Fairfax and Colo. Fairfax and my Br. Catchd 2 Foxes.

23. Went a huntg again with Lord Fairfax and his Brother, and Colo. Fairfax. Catchd nothing that we knew of. A fox was started.

24. Mr. Robt. Alexander here. Went into the Neck.

25. Mr. Bryan Fairfax, as also Messrs. Grayson[1] and Phil Alexander came here by sunrise. Hunted and catchd a fox with these and my Lrd, his Br. and Colo. Fairfax, all of whom, with Mrs. Fx. and Mr. Watson of Eng'd dind here.

26. Hunted again in the above Compa. but catchd nothing.

27. Went to Church.

28. Went to the Vestry at Pohick Church.

29. Went a Huntg. with Lord Fairfax, etc. Catchd a Fox.

30. At home all day. Colo. Mason and Mr. Cockburne[2] came in the Evening.

[1] This fox-hunting companion of the care-free year 1768 was the William Grayson (1736–90), son of Benjamin Grayson (d. 1757), of Prince William, who was destined to serve as an aide-de-camp to Washington during the Revolution, to distinguish himself at the battle of Long Island, and subsequently to represent Virginia in the United States Senate. Grayson County was named for him.

[2] This was Martin Cockburn, son of Dr. James Cockburn, of Jamaica, and of the Scottish family of Nova Scotia baronets which later produced Admiral Sir George Cockburn (1772–1853), who commanded the British fleet in its operations in the Potomac in 1814, and Sir Alexander Cockburn (1802–80), Lord Chief Justice of England. Martin may be found in the pedigree of this family in *Burke's Peerage*.

The traditional story is that, while traveling in Virginia, he met and wooed

[NOVEMBER]

Observations

Put up my Beeves and Weathers to Fatten. About the 25th of Octr., Put up Hogs to fatten.

14. Began to gather Corn at Muddy hole and in the Neck.

21. Measurd the Cut of Corn in the Neck adjoing. to the Gate, the contents of which was [ ]

22. Began to gather Corn at the Mill.

DECEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Went to the Election of Burgesses for this County and was there, with Colo. West, chosen. Stayd all Night to a Ball wch. I had given.[1]

2. Returnd home after dinner accompanied by Colo. Mason, Mr. Cockburn, and Messrs. Henderson,[2] Ross and Lawson.

3. Went a fox huntg. in Company with Lord and Colo.

the daughter of Jeremiah Bronaugh, of Fairfax, whom he later married. After a not extinct custom of Virginia girls, she declined to leave home despite her marriage, so Cockburn established himself as a Virginian, living near Gunston, and making a most agreeable addition to the society of Fairfax County. He was elected to the Truro Vestry in 1770, vice John Posey, and in 1774 served on the Fairfax Committee of Safety. If he had had male issue, they would have succeeded to the family baronetcy.

[1] There were only three candidates, Washington, Colonel John West (the elder), and Captain John Posey. 'Dec. 1. By John Orr keeping my Poll at the Election £1. Dec. 2. By Richd. Arrells Acct. of Exps. on yt. occn. £15.5.9. By Cakes to Sundries £7.11.3. 1769, Jan. 12. By Mr. John Muir for his fidler the Ball on occasion of the Election £1. Feb. 23. By Mary Mason for Cakes at the Election, 15*s* 7½*d*.' (*Ledger A.*) It thus appears that Washington's election cost him £25.12.7½.

[2] Alexander Henderson, Colchester merchant; removed to Dumfries in 1789.

Fairfax, Captn. McCarty, and Messrs. Henderson and Ross. Started nothg. My Br. came in ye afternoon.

4. At Home all day.

5. Fox hunting with Lord Fairfax and his Brothr. and Colo. Fairfax. Started a Fox and lost it. Dind at Belvoir and came [home] in ye Evg.

6. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill.

7. At home all day, alone.

8. Fox huntg. with Lord Fairfax and Brothr. and Colo. Fairfax, all of whom dind. here. Started nothing.

9. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill.

10. Went a fox hunting in the Neck and catchd a fox. Afterwards went to the Plantatn. there. Doctr. Rumney came to D[inne]r. and Mr. Alexr. in the E[venin]g.

11. They went away after breakfast; alone aft[erwar]ds.

12. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole. Miss Carlyle and Miss Dalton[2] came here.

13. Set of abt. 12 Oclock for Towlston to hunt with Mr. Bryan Fairfax. Got there in the Afternn.

14. Stayd there all day. In the Evg. went to see his new Mill.

15. Returnd home; by the way (that is near Muddy hole) started and catchd a Fox.

[1] Miss Betsy Dalton, daughter of Captain John Dalton, of Alexandria.

16. At home all day. Jacky Custis came home from Mr. Boucher's.

17. Rid out with my Gun but killd nothing. Mary Wilson came to live here as a Ho. keeper at 15/. pr. Month.

18. At home all day. Miss Sally Carlyle and Miss Betcy Dalton went away and Mr. Stedlar came.

19. Went up to Court and returnd at Night.

20. At home all day.

21. Ditto. Ditto. } Snowing.
22. Ditto. Ditto. }

23. Went a Pheasant Huntg.; carrd. hounds and they started and followed a Deer.

24. Rid to the Mill and Doeg Run.

25. At home all day.

26. Ditto. Do. L. W[ashingto]n set of for Staff'd.

27. Ditto. Do. except shooting between breakfast and Dinner.

28. At home all day alone.

29. Went a fox hunting. Started one but did not catch it. In the afternoon Messrs. Dalton, Piper and Riddell came here. Also Mr. Mag[owa]n.

30. At home with them all day.

31. Went a hunting and catchd a bitch fox — the above Gentlemn. with me.

[DECEMBER]

Observations.

13*th*. Killd Hogs.

1769

January 1–December 31

Original in Library of Congress

1769

JANUARY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* At home alone. Mr. Magowan returnd from Alexandria in the Evening.

2. Went to Colo. Fairfax's with the Family and stayd all Night.

3. Came home again. Colo. Carlyle and Mr. Ramsay returnd with us.

4. Went a fox huntg. with the above Gentlemen, and were met by the two Colo. Fairfax's but found nothing. Messrs. C[arlyle] and R[amsay] went home.

5. Calm Morning with heavy Clouds and gr. appearances of Rain. Abt 10 Oclock the Wind comg. to No. Wt. and blowg. fresh dispeld the Clouds towards the afternoon. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and the Mill, and in the afternoon, went into the Neck.

6. The two Colo. Fairfax's and Mrs. Fairfax and Dr. Rumney dind here and spent the Evening.

7. After Dinner the Compy. from Belvoir returnd home. Doctr. Rumney stayd.

8. At home all day with Doctr. Rumney.

9. At home all day, opening the Avenue to the House,[1] and for bringing the Road along.

10. Went a Fox huntg. with L[und] W[ashington], Jacky Custis and Mr. Manley. Found Nothing.

11. Went a fox hunting in the Neck with Mr. Peake, but found nothing.

12. Went out in the Morng. with the Hounds in order to meet Colo. Fairfax, but did not. In Hell hole started a fox and after an hours chase run him into a hole and left him. In ye afternoon went to Alex. to ye Monthly Ball.

13. Havg. lodgd at Captn. Dalton's, was confind there till the afternoon by Rain and then came Home.

14. At home all day, and alone.

15. Ditto, Do. Do.

16. Went a ducking in the forenoon — otherwise at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. B. Fairfax came here.

17. Fox huntg. in the Neck with Mr. Fairfax, Triplet and Peake. Started nothing.

18. Fox huntg. Again in the above Compy. and Harn. Manley. Started a Fox and lost it. The above dind here, as Mr. Wagener also did.

19. Fox hunting in the same Company. F[oun]d nothing. Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Wag'r dind here.

[1] The avenue from the Mansion House to the Porter's Lodge on the Accotink and Gum Spring Road. (*Toner.*)

20. Fox huntg. again with Mr. Wagener,[1] Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Clarke. The two last dind here; Mr. Wagener went home.

21. Fox huntg. again upon long Branch with Mr. Fairfax, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Mac[car]ty and Mr. Chichester.[2] All went home from the field. Found Doctr. Rumney here.

22. Went to Pohick Church. Doctr. Rumney stayd all day and Night.

23. At home. Captn. McCarty and Wife, Mr. Chichester and his, dind and stayd all night.

24. At home, the above Company dind here and went home in the afternoon.

[1] The first of the succession of Peter Wageners came to Virginia in 1703 as a parson, but soon returned to England to live out his life in a comfortable preferment at Stisted in Essex. His son, the 'Major Wagener' of the diary and the second Peter, was educated in the law, emigrated to Virginia in 1739 to seek his fortune, and duly assured his future by marriage into the politically important colonial family of Robinson, of the Rappahannock. That interest soon procured his appointment as clerk successively of Prince William and Fairfax, when he removed to the Potomac and acquired the lands on the upper shore of the Occoquan, on which in 1756 he established the town of Colchester.

The 'Mr. Wagener' here named as a fox-hunting companion of Washington was the third Peter (son of 'Major Wagener'), who married a daughter of Daniel McCarty, and on his father's death in 1774 succeeded him, not only in the Truro Vestry, but as clerk of Fairfax.

The Thomas Wagener who was a lieutenant in the Virginia regiment in 1754 (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, I, 279) was probably a brother of the second Peter, with whom he has been confused.

[2] This was Richard Chichester. About 1702 his great-grandfather, a cadet of the Chichesters, of Widworthy, County Devon, emigrated to Lancaster County, and there this Richard was born, his mother being a Ball. After a first marriage to a Gordon, followed by residence in Fauquier, Richard Chichester married in 1766 as his second wife a daughter of Daniel McCarty and removed to Fairfax, where he died, 1796.

His second son, Daniel McCarty Chichester (1769–1817), is recorded to have been born February 27, 1769, so that it was for him that Washington stood godfather, as recorded in the diary, June 11, 1769. For this family see *Hayden*, 93, 106; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI, 250.

25. Hunting below Accatinck with Captn. McCarty, Mr. Chichester and Mr. Wagener, with their dogs. Found a fox and killd it in abt. an hour and 35 Minutes.

26. At home all day. Jacky Custis set of for school, and Mr. Robt. Alex[ande]r came here in ye aft.

27. At home again all day — Mr. Alexander staying.

28. Went a Huntg. with Mr. Alexander. Traild a fox for two hours and then lost it. Mr. Alexander went home from ye field.

29. Ground froze, Weather clear, Wind tolerable fresh at No. West, but not very cold. At home all day — alone.

30. At home all day. Mr. Campbell the Comptroller dind here, and in the afternoon Doctr. Mercer[1] came.

31. Doctr. Rumney dind and lodgd here, and in the afternoon Mr. Addison's and Mr. Bayne's[2] Sons came and lodgd here.

JAN[UARY]

Remarks and Observations

4. Finishd Measuring Corn in the Neck — total quantity 694 Barrels. About this time Muddy hole People began clearing Ground.

5. Began clearing Ground in the Neck. Mill People getting rails to fence Corn field by Mrs. Manley's.

[1] Dr. Hugh Mercer, of Fredericksburg, Virginia. He became a brigadier-general in the Continental Army, commanded the Flying Camp, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Princeton.

[2] Toner thinks of Maryland.

9. Began to open the Avenue in front of the House in order to bring the Road along it.

10. Finishd gathering Corn at Doeg Run Quarter — 242 Barrels.

10. A very spewing frost[1] among Wheat, particularly in ye little field at Doeg Run. Note the consequence of this.

16. Began to open my New Road that is to cut the Bank down this side Hell hole.

18. Another Spewing frost.

22. The hound bitch Musick got out of her confinement and was lind by Pilot.

26. She was lined by Mr. Fairfax's Hound Rockwood.

27. The black hound bitch Countess was lined by the above Dog Rockwd.

28. Countess was again lind by Rockwood.

This day Recd. 505 Bushels of Oats from the Eastn. Shore for 500 that was put on board.[2]

FEBRUARY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st*. Doctrs. Mercer and Rumney went away as did Mr. Addison's Sons &ca. I dind at Belvoir and returnd in the Evening.

[1] A local term applied to the hard frost, when the ground is saturated, that raises the soil in little honeycomb effect that tears and destroys the roots of crops. (*Toner.*)

[2] 'By freight of 500 Bushels of Oats from the Plantation on the Eastn. Shore £6.5.0.' (*Ledger A.*)

2. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

3. Went a Gunning up the Creek. Killd 7 Ducks. In the afternoon Colo. F. Lewis and Son Fieldg.[1] and Mr. Rozer[2] came here.

4. Mr. Rozer went away after breakfast, the others stayd. At home all day.

5. At home all day with Colo. Lewis, etca.

6. At home all day with etca.

7. At home as above.

8. Colo. Lewis and son set of to go home, but being stopd at Colchester by Ice returnd in the Afternoon. I rid as far as the Mill with them.

9. Went a Ducking with Colo. Lewis. His Son and Betsy Dandridge went to the Monthly Ball at Alexandria.

10. Went a shooting again. In the Afternoon Fieldg. Lewis returnd from ye Ball.

11. Ducking till Dinner. Mr. Piper dind here. Betsy Dandridge came home in the Evening.

12. Mr. Piper went away after Breakfast. At home all day with Colo. Lewis and Son.

13. Colo. Lewis and Son set of for home. Rid into the Neck, and to Muddy hole and Doeg Run.

[1] Fielding Lewis, Jr., first child of Betty Washington. (*Toner.*)
[2] Henry Rozier.

14. Went a fox hunting — but started nothing. The two Colo. Fairfax's dind here.

15. Rid to the Mill, Doeg run, and Muddy hole.

16. At home all day, Joshua Evans,[1] who came here last Night, put an Iron Ring upon Patcy (for Fits) and went away after Breakfast.

17. Rid out with my hounds. Started a fox and lost it, after an hour's chase. Doctr. Rumney came in the afternoon.

18. Went a hunting with Doctr. Rumney. Started a fox, or rather 2 or 3, and catchd none. Dogs mostly got after Deer and never joind.

19. Went to Pohick Church, and returnd to Dinner.

20. Went up to Alexandria to Court, returnd home in the Evening.

21. Went to Court again and returnd home at Night.

22. At Court again, and home in the Evenng.

23. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

24. At home all day, without Company.

25. At home all day receiving my Goods from Captn. Johnstoun's Craft.

[1] 'Feb. 16. By Joshua Evans for a ring for Miss Custis. £1.10.0.' (*Ledger A.*) One of the old superstitions of the curative properties of iron mingled with the symbolism of the ring.

26. At home all day alone.

27. Fox hunting with Colo. G. Fairfax and Mr. Warnr. Washington. Started and killed a Dog fox, after havg him on foot three hours and hard runng. an hour and a Qr. Dined at Colo. Fairfax's.

28. At home all day. Mr. Warnr. Washington and Lady and Miss Betcy Washington came here and staid all Night.

FEB[RUARY]

Remarks and Observations.

Killd a Wether which waid alive, being a middle sizd. one

.....	103 lbs. Gross		
When dressed....	60 lbs. nett	a 3d.....	15.0
	5½ Tallow	7½.....	3.5
	3 Wool	15.....	3.9
	Skin.....		1.3
			£1.3.5

Note. The above, at a low estimate, appears to be no more than the worth of a fat wether — it being imagind, that woud average the above weight, and 3d. pr. lb. is a low price at this Season of the year.

25. Finish'd the New road, leadg. across Hell hole,[1] to the House.

MARCH

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantations

[1] A small creek that enters the Potomac a short distance to the south of the Mansion House. The road from the House crossed it before meeting the Alexandria road.

with Mr. Wr. Washington, who with his Lady and Miss Betcy Washington that came yesterday also dind and lodgd here to day &ca. Mr. Willm. Crawford came in the afternoon.

2. At home all day with the above Company.

3. Went to the Vestry at Pohick Church and returnd abt. 11 Oclock at Night; found Mr. Tibbles[1] here.

4. Warnr. Washington and Lady, and Captn. Crawford[2] and Mr. Tibbles went away after Breakt. Myself at home all day.

5. Went up to Alexanda. after Fieldg. Lewis and brot. him down to Dinner, where I found Mr. Wr. Washington, who returnd after Dinr.

6. Set out with Fieldg. Lewis for Fred'g, where we reachd after dining at Peyton's[3] on Acquia — i. e. reachd my Mother's.[4]

7. Went to Fredericksburg and remaind there all day, ding. at Colo. Lewis's.

8. Still there. Dind at the same place, spending the Evening at Weedon's[5] at ye Club.

[1] Possibly Mr. J. Tibbett.

[2] 'Mar. 4. By Captn. William Crawford £10.0.0.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] Peyton's Ordinary, which appears several times in the diaries, was a landmark at the crossing of the 'Potomac Path' over Acquia Creek, sixteen miles above the Fredericksburg Ferry. When Rochambeau's army marched north after Yorktown, they camped at Peyton's, and there survives in the Map division of the Library of Congress a beautiful chart of that camp and the neighborhood, made by a French engineer.

[4] 'Mar. 7. By Cash gave my Mother £3.' (*Ledger A.*)

[5] George Weedon kept an 'ordinary' at Fredericksburg. He later became a brigadier-general in the Continental Army.

9. Set of for Robt. Ashby's,[1] and after dining by the way, reachd it a little after dark.

10. Went out to run out the bounds of the Land I bot. of Carter's Estate,[2] but the Weathr. being very cold and windy was obligd. to return.

11. Went out again on the same business and returnd at Night to Captn. Ashby's.

12. At Captn. Ashby's all day. In the afternoon Captn. Marshall[3] came and spent the Evening.

13. Out a Surveying till Night with severl. attending.

14. Out in like manner.

15. Out again with many People attending.

16. Ditto, Ditto, Ditto.

[1] This Robert Ashby (1710–92), the second son of that Thomas Ashby for whom Ashby's Bent in the Blue Ridge was named, had been a marker for Washington during the survey in the Shenandoah Valley in 1748 and now lived in his father's Fauquier house at the crossing of the Winchester road over Goose Creek. The house still stands near the modern village of Delaplane, and was long ago agreeably depicted by 'Porte Crayon' in his *Virginia Illustrated.* For the Ashbys and the history of this house see *Fauquier Historical Society Bulletin*, I, 150.

[2] The lands here referred to were those of George Carter, youngest son of 'King' Carter. Under his father's will, George inherited 21,000 acres in several tracts lying in Prince William, Fauquier, and Frederick, and by his will dated January 2, 1741/2, ordered them to be sold. In 1744 (*Hening*, V, 300) the Assembly appointed trustees to make this sale, and after they were all dead in 1766 appointed (*Hening*, VIII, 215) as their successors Robert Burwell, George Washington, and Fielding Lewis. It was on this business that Washington surveyed the Carter lands in Fauquier (some of which he bought in himself) in the spring of 1769. 'By Exps. at Morgans 2/..... Do in Surveying 4/6.' 'Mar. 17. By Wm. Wood carrying Chain 2 days 5/.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] Thomas Marshall (1730–1802), father of Chief Justice John Marshall. Colonel of 3d Virginia Regiment during the Revolutionary War. Moved to Kentucky and died there.

17. Executing Leases to those who had taken Lotts — being at Captn. Ashby's.

18. Went up to Greenway Court,[1] where I dind and stayd all Night. Met Colo. Lewis here.

19. Went with Colo. Lewis to his Plantations, where I stayd all day and Night.

20. Executing in the forenoon Deeds, and settling with those who had purchd. Carter's Land upon Opeekon.[2] In the afternoon rid to Valentine Crawfd.[3]

21. Went and laid of 4 Lots at the head of Bullskin for several Tenents.

22. Filling up leases for them at Val. Crawford's all day.

23. Set of homewards. Breakfasted at Mr. Arriss's,[4] dind undr. ye Ridge, and lodgd at West's.[5]

24. Reachd home before dinner. Found Colo. Bassett, Lady and 2 childn., Betcy and Nancy, here also Mr. Wr. Washington and Jacky Custis.

25. Went a fox hunting with Colo. Bassett and Mr. Bryan Fairfax who also came here last Night. Started and run a fox into a hole after an hours chase. Mr. Fairfax went home after dinner

[1] Residence of Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, in Clark County, Virginia, about twelve miles from Winchester.

[2] Opequon River, in the Shenandoah Valley, empties into the Potomac near Martinsburg, West Virginia.

[3] Valentine Crawford's in Frederick County. He later moved into the Youghiogheny Valley.

[4] John Ariss, in the Shenandoah Valley. (*Toner.*)

[5] Charles West, in Loudoun County, about twelve miles from Ashby's Gap. (See note to entry for April 10, 1748, *ante.*)

26. Took an airing with Colo. Bassett on horse back. Mr. R. Alexander came in the Evg.

27. Went a Fox hunting. Found and was run out of hearing by some of the Dogs.

28. Hunting again. Found a fox and killd it in an hour and an half. Mr. Magowan and Vale. Crawford came here to day.

29. Rid with Colo. Bassett into the Neck. Vale. Crawford went to Colo. Fairfax's.

30. Dined at Colo. Fairfax's along with Colo. Bassett and Lady. Returnd in the Eveng.

31. Hunting. Found a fox and killd him in an hour. This and the last were both Dog Foxes. Mr. Magowan went to Alexandria.

MAR[CH]

Remarks and Observations.

2. Began to List Corn Ground at the Mill.

6. Began to List Do. at Muddy hole.

10. and from that to the 18, laying of Lotts and leasing them in Fauquier and Loudoun Countys on the Land which I bought of Carter's Estate.[1]

20. And from that to the 23d doing the like on my Land at Bullskin in Frederick County.

[1] The Carter estate comprised land in many counties, Charles City, Hanover, Lancaster, Frederick, and others, besides the two mentioned above by Washington. In all the estate totaled some one hundred and fifty thousand acres of valuable land.

24. Returnd home from my journey to Frederick, etca., and found that the Hound Bitch Maiden had taken Dog promiscuously; That the Bitch Lady was in Heat and had also been promiscuously lind, and therefore I did not shut her up; That Dutchess was shut up, and had been lind twice by Drunkard, but was out one Night in her heat, and supposd to be lind by other Dogs; That Truelove was also in the House, as was Mopsy likewise (who had been seen lind to Pilot before she was shut up).

26. The Bitch Musick brought five Puppies, one of which being thought not true was drownd immediately — the others, being somewhat like the Dog (Lockwood of Mr. Fairfax) which got them, were saved.

27. The Hound Bitch Countess brought 7 Puppies and was with her Puppies carried away the next day by Alexr.

31. To this time Mopsy had been lind several times by Lawlor as Truelove had been by Drunkard; but as this Bitch got out one Night during her Heat, it is presumable she was lind by other Dogs, especially Pilot the Master Dog and one who was seen lying down by her in the Morning.

Began about the 28th to Plow behind the Quarter for oats and grass seeds.

APRIL

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st*. At home all day with Colo. Bassett, etca. and Betcy Washington, who came home with us on Thursday last.

2. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Rozer, Mr. Carrol, Mr. Sydebotham and Mr. Magowan, came here.

3. Colo. Bassett and family set of homewards, as Jacky Custin did to School, and the above Gentlemen for Dumfries. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

4. After an early Dinner went to Belvoir to pay a visit to Colo. Fairfax. Returnd at Night.

5. Run the back line of Spencer and Washington's Patent,[1] and came home to Dinner.

6. At home all day. Mr. Magowan returnd from Dumfries.

7. Went a fox hunting in the Morning and catchd a dog fox after running him an hour and treeing twice. After this went to an intended meeting of ye Vestry, but there was none. When I came home found Mr. Buchanon [2] and Captn. McGachin [3] here, also Captn. Weeden and my Br. Charles.

8. The two first went to Occaquan Works and returnd in the afternoon. At home all day.

[1] The original patents for the neck between Dogue Run and Little Hunting Creek, which ultimately became Mount Vernon, were taken out in 1657 by Robert Castleton and Henry Vincent and from them passed in 1660 to the first Richard Lee and Peter Jennings. Because Lee and Jennings failed to comply with the patent conditions as to 'seating,' Nicholas Spencer and John Washington included their claims in a survey of 5000 acres made in 1669, and in 1675 perfected the title so asserted by securing a grant from the proprietors of the Northern Neck. This grant, which was dated March 1, 1674/5, and is now exhibited at Mount Vernon, was the 'Spencer and Washington patent' to which Washington here refers as the foundation of his own title.

[2] Buchanon, or Buchanan, of Maryland?

[3] William(?) McGachin, a sea-captain. In 1763, and for some years previous, he commanded a convict ship, a duty he greatly disliked. Washington recommended him to his London merchants, Robert Cary & Co., for the command of one of their ships plying between London and the Potomac, 'because a personal acquaintance with Mr. McGachin added to his general good Character enables me to introduce him to you as a Gentleman of knowledge, diligence and integrity.' (*Washington to Cary & Co.*, 1763, Oct. 4.)

9. At home all day with the above Gentlemen and Mr. Tibbles. In the afternoon Captn. Jno. West came here.

10. Captn. McGachin and Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Tibbles went away. We were at home all day.

11. Went a fox hunting and took a fox alive after running him to a Tree. Bro't him home.

12. Chased the above fox for an Hour and 45 Minutes when he treed again, after which we lost him. Mr. B. Fairfax came this afternoon.

13. Went a Huntg. with him in the Neck and killd a Dog Fox, after treeing him in 35 Mins. Mr. W. Washington Dind here, and both of them stayd all Night. My Br. and Captn. Weeden went away this Morning.

14. Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Washington went away, and we set out to go to Captn. McCarty's, but Patcy being taken with a fit on the Road by the Mill, we turnd back.

15. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

16. Went to Pohick Church and returnd home to Dinner.

17. Went up to Court and lodgd at Mr. Jno. West's at Night.

18. Went to Court again and came home in the Evening with Colo. Mason, Mr. Auge. Smith, Mr. Ross and Mr. Denneson. Found Mr. Stedlar here.

19. Mr. Wr. Washington came early in the Morng. Mr. Ross and Mr. Denneson went home, and Colo. Mason and myself went to settle the Bounds of our Land.

20. Mr. Smith and Mr. Washington went away, as did Mr. Stedlar. Colo. Mason and myself again went into the woods a Surveying.

21. At home with Colo. Mason, who went away in the afternoon.

22. Surveying in the Woods all day. Mr. Chichester, Mr. Ball,[1] Mr. Hale, and Miss Sinai McCarty dind here.

23. Dined at Belvoir. Met Majr. Wagener[2] coming to dine with me. Doctr. Rumney came.

24. Measuring the Road to Posey's ferry and seeing how a new one coud be laid out. Captn. McCarty dind here.

25. At home all day alone. Ye above two Gentlemen went away yesterday afternoon.

26. At home. Mr. Martin Cochburn and Pierce Baily dind here and went away afterwards.

27. Rid to the Neck, Muddy hole, and Doeg Run. Captn. McCarty and Wife dind here.

28. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney came here in the afternoon.

29. Went up to Alexandria and Mr. Jno. West's and returnd to Dinner.

30. Set of for Williamsburg with Betcy Dandridge, and was forcd into Peyton's ordy.[3] at Aquia, where we lodgd.

[1] John Ball, a millwright. [2] Peter Wagener, of Fairfax County.

[3] At Acquia Creek on the Alexandria and Fredericksburg road. 'May 1. By Expenses at Peyton's Ordy. 19*s* 7½ *d.*' (*Ledger A.*)

[APRIL]

Remarks and Observations.

3. Sowed what St. Foin Seed I had in ye Lucern patch.

4. Got done threshing at Doeg Run Plantation.

4. Sowed some St. Foine in the Lucerne patch.

11. The White fish ran plentifully at my Sein landing, having catchd abt. 300 at one Hawl.

14. Began to Plant corn at Muddy hole.

15. Began to Plant Do. at the Mill.

15. Sowed Oats in the Inclosure behind the Quarter.

18. Sowed Clover and Burnet Seeds on Do.

18. Sent Negroe George into the Neck.

22. The Herrings run in great abundance.

27. finishd planting Corn in the Neck.

30. finishd Ditto at Muddy hole.

MAY

Where & how my time is Spent.[1]

1. Set out from Peytons and passing thro Fredericksburg reachd Hubbard's ordy.[2]

[1] In May, 1769, Washington attended sessions of the Burgesses from May 7th to 17th inclusive, with ten days of necessary traveling over the Occoquan, Rappahannock, and York Rivers route.

[2] 'By [Expenses] at Hubbards 8*s*. 6*d*. By Ditto at Todds 4/.' (*Ledger A.*)

2. Got to Eltham, after found[erin]g my Horse.[1]

3. Went into Williamsburg,[2] and dined with the Council and spent the Evening in ye Daphne.[3]

4. Dined with the Speaker and spent the Evening (that is suppd) at Mrs. Campbell's.

5. Dined at the Governor's and supped at Mr. Carter's.

6. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Eveng. there without supping.

7. Dined at Ayscough's, and supped there also.[4]

8. Dined at Anthony Hay's[5] and supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

9. Dined at the Palace,[6] and spent the Evening in my own Room.

10. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening at the Hay's.

11. Again dined at Mrs. Campbell's, and spent the Evening at Hay's.

12. Dined with Mr. Wythe, and Supped at Hay's.

13. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and went over to Gloucester to Colo. W. Lewis's[7] afterwards.

[1] 'By Ferriages at Ruffins 4*s*. By Expences of my Sick Horse 15*s*.' (*Ledger A*.)
[2] 'By Anthony Hay for 3 purses (that is Subscripn. to 3 Wmsburg Purse Races) £3.' (*Ledger A*.)
[3] A public house in Williamsburg.
[4] 'By Dinner & Supper at Ayscough's 10/ Coffee 2/.' (*Ledger A*.)
[5] Anthony Hays, proprietor of the Raleigh Tavern, Williamsburg.
[6] The Governor's residence.
[7] Warner Lewis, of Gloucester, brother to Fielding Lewis.

14. At Colo. Lewis's all day.

15. Returnd to Williamsburg by nine oclock in the morng. after Breakfasting in York Town. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and Supped at Hay's.

16. Rid over my dower Land[1] in York, to shew that and the Mill to the Gentlemen appointed by the Genl. Court to value and report thereon. Came in to Breakfast. Dined at the Speaker's and spent the Evening at Hay's.

17. Dined at the Treasurer's, and was upon a Committee at Hay's till 10 oclock.[2]

18. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and went to Bed by 8 Oclock.

19. Dined again at Mrs. Dawson's and went to the Queen's Birth Night at ye Palace.[3]

[1] Land belonging to Mrs. Washington's estate. There is no mention of this proceeding in the Journals of the Virginia Burgesses; but it was probably connected with the bill passed at the November session, 1769, which was designed to oblige owners of mills, hedges, or stops on certain rivers to make openings or stopes for the passage of the fish.

[2] Thus briefly does Washington note the happenings of one of the momentous days in Virginia history. The Burgesses having agreed upon an humble address to the King, Governor Botetourt disapproved and dissolved the legislature. This same day the dismissed Burgesses reassembled in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern and formulated the Virginia Non-Importation Association. Washington was on the committee that drew up this Association. May 18. 'By Anthony Hays Acct. 32/9*d.* and Club at Do. arising from the Associators meetg. there 20/.' 'By the Farmers Letters 3/6*d.*' (*Ledger A.*) In Virginia as in the other Colonies the same situation existed, of emphatic opposition to Ministerial measures going hand in hand with sincere protestations of loyalty. An interesting picture is presented by the actions of the recalcitrant Burgesses in agreeing to the Non-Importation Association and, immediately thereafter, drinking toasts to 'The King'; 'The Queen and Royal Family'; 'Lord Botetourt'; 'A Speedy and Lasting Union between Great Britain and her Colonies'; 'The Constitutional British Liberty in America'; and, among others, a toast to 'The Farmer,' meaning John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, which had first appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper in 1767. Washington paid 3*s.* 6*d.* for the pamphlet edition two years later.

[3] Despite the Governor's action in dissolving the Burgesses and their defiance

20. left Williamsburg on my return home. Dined at Colo. Bassett's and stayd the rest of the day there.

21. Crossd over to my own Plantation. Dined at Todd's and lodgd at Port Royal.

22. Reachd home after going as far as Colo. Harrison's[1] with a view of crossing through Maryland, and being disappointed was obl'd to come up the Virginia side. Found Mrs. Bushrod,[2] Mrs. W. Washington and their families here; also Mr. Boucher, Mr. Addison, Mr. Magowan, and Doctr. Rumney — Jacky Custis.

23. Mr. Addison and Mr. Boucher went away. At home my self all day

24. At home all day. Mr. Magowan went down to Dumfries.

25. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill and returnd to Dinner.

26. Rid into the Neck, and from thence went up to a Race at Cameron.

27. Went up to Alexandria to a Barbicue and stayed all Night.

28. Returnd home early in the Morning and went to Pohick Church, returning to Dinner.

in persisting in opposition to the measures of Parliament, and entering into the Association, they were truthful in their protestations of loyalty. The Queen's Birthnight celebration at the Governor's Mansion was well attended.

[1] Toner thinks Nathaniel Harrison, of King George County.

[2] Mrs. John Bushrod, of Westmoreland. Her daughter Hannah married John Augustine Washington and became the mother of Justice Bushrod Washington. (*Toner.*)

29. At home all day.

30. Rid to Muddy hole about 11 Oclock and returnd to Dinner.

31. Set of with Mrs. Washington, and Mr. Magowan for Towlston, in order to stand for Mr. B. Fairfax's 3d Son,[1] which I did, together with my Wife, Mr. Wr. Washington and his Lady.

[MAY]

Remarks and Occurances.

22. Returnd home from Williamsburg, and found my Wheat much better in general than ever it was at this Season before, being Ranker, better spread over the ground, and broader in the Blade than usual.

It was also observable that in general the head was shot out, and in many places in Blossom.

27. Finishd breaking up my Corn Ground at the Mill.

29. Mopsey the Hound Bitch and Truelove another Hound brought 12 Puppies — that is Mopsey had five and the other Seven.

30. Finishd breaking up my Corn ground in the Neck with my Plows.

JUNE

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Set of from Towlston with the Compy. that went up yesterday on our return home, and reachd Mt. Vernon abt. 6 Oclock.

[1] This was Ferdinando Fairfax (1769–1820), who was to be one of the 'principal mourners' at Washington's funeral.

2. Went to Alexandria to Mr. Sam'l Johnson's[1] Funeral Sermon. Returnd to Dinr.

3. Mr. Warnr. Washington and family, Mrs. Bushrod and hers, and Mr. Magowan, all went away this day. I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

4. At home all day — alone.

5. Dined at Belvoir. Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis going with me.

6. At home all day. Mrs. Fairfax, Colo. Fairfax, and Mr. Wormely[2] the elder, ding. here and returning in the afternoon.

7. Rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole, and returnd to Dinner.

8. Went with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis on a visit to Mr. Wm. Digges, and returnd in the afternoon.

9. Rid to Captn. Posey's, from thence to the Mill and then home.

10. At home all day.

11. Went to Pohick Church — dined at Captn McCartys. Stood for Mr. Chichester's Child and came home in ye Aftern.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill. Doctr. Rumney (and Mr. Stedlar, who came yesterday after-

[1] A farmer in Clifton's Neck.
[2] Ralph Wormley, of 'Rosegill.'

noon), Mr. Robt. Scott[1] and Mr. Hy Peake Dind here — also Sally Carlyle.

13. Went into the Neck.

14. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill, and from thence went to Belvoir to pay my respects to Lord Fairfax. Dind there and returnd in the afternoon. S. Carlyle w[en]t Ho[me].

15. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill, and returnd to Dinner.

16. At home all day. Mr. Robt Alexander and his Brothr. Geo. Dind here, and went away in the afternoon.

17. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill Plantation.

18. At home all day — alone.

19. Went up to Court and returnd in ye Evening.

20. Went up to Court again and returnd in the Evening with Colo. Mason, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Bryan Fairfax.

21. Mr. Fairfax went away in ye Morning to Court. Ye other Gentln. stayd all d[ay].

22. Colo. Mason and Mr. Scott went away and I to Court again.

23. Went to Court again and returnd in the afternoon.

24. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill, and returnd to Dinner. Lord Fairfax, the two Colo. Fairfax's and Mr. Digges dind here, and returnd.

[1] Of Fairfax.

25. I dined at Belvoir and returnd in the Eveng.

26. At home all day — Measuring Salt from a Bermudian.

27. Rid into the Neck, and to Muddy hole.

28. Rid to the Harvest Field at Doeg Run and returnd to Dinner.

29. Went to the same place again, and returnd also to Dinner. In the afternoon Doctr. Rumney came on a visit to Betty.[1]

30. Went into the Neck where my Harvest People had movd to and returnd to Dinner. Doctr. Rumney went away after Breakfast.

[JUNE]

Remarks and Occurances.

2*d.* Finishd breaking up my Corn gd. with the Plows at Muddy hole.

3*d.* Finishd going over the field abt. the Overseer's House at the Mill with the Hoes.

6. Went over my plowed Corn at Doeg Run a 2d. time with the Plows

7. Rid into the Neck, and went all avr. my Wheat there, which in general I think very good; and at this time free from any appearance of Rust. I think it is observable that the Wheat on the River side appeard to be better head

[1] Servant.

than the other, tho not superior in look in any other respect to many other parts of the field.

8. Got over the little field at the Mill with the Hoes, commonly called the Clover patch.

9. Finishd plowing the Field round the Overseer's House at the Mill a 2d time.

This day I went through all my Wheat at the Mill and find it very likely and promising, and entirely free from any appearance of Rust, the head beginning to expand by the plumping of the grain.

10. Got over my Corn Ground at Doeg Run Quarter a second time with the Plows and began it a third time with the Harrows.

Also got over the old ground Corn at the same place with the Hoes.

12. Went over all my Wheat at Muddy hole and at Doeg Run and found it at both places good and promising, and entirely clear from every appearance of Rust. I also found that the Straw at the lower joints was turn'd and turning, yellow; that the blade was putting on a yellowish Hue; and that the head was in general grey and turning yellowish, the grain being mostly plump and ye departments strutting with the Ripening Corn.

13. Went through my Wheat in the Neck, and found it also clear of the Rust, and in much the same state of that of Muddy hole and Doeg Run as describd yesterday.

This day I put on board my Schooner from the Neck 500 Bushels of Indian Corn for Mr. Ross.

17. Finishd going over my Corn at Muddy hole with the

Hoes. Also went over my Corn at the Mill this day with the Hoes.

22. Went over my Corn at the Mill the Second time with the Plows, that is finishd doing so, and began with the Harrows in the field about the Ovrs. House.

24. Finishd going over my Corn in the Neck with the Hoes, as also with the Plows the Second time.

24. Workd over all the Swamps (North of the Meadow) at Doeg Run with the Hoes.

24. Jonathan Palmer, who came to the House that was provided for him last Night, began Working with my People this day.

27. James Cleveland[1] spaed the three hound Bitches Musick, Tipsey, Maiden, also two hound puppies which came from Musick and Rockwood. Note — Ye Bitch Tipsey was going into heat, but had not been lind.

27. Began in the afternoon to cut my Wheat at Doeg Run Quarter with Jonathan Palmer and 6 other Cradlers.

28. Elijah Houghton joind the above at the same place. The whole made but a bad day's work. They complain of the Straw cutting very hard.

Note. The Wheat this year appeard different from what it did last year, the straw being quite changd (even the Knobs and joints, nearly so) when the Grain was not hard. On the Contrary last year the grain was tolerably hard, whilst part of the Straw retaind a good deal of green.

[1] James Cleveland, often employed by Washington. Lived in the Shenandoah Valley and was with the party sent by Washington to improve his Ohio lands in 1775.

29. Eliab Roberts, William Acres, Joseph Wilson and Azel Martin, set into work to day and I think worked but indifferently. The Wheat on the other side the Run was not cut down. Michael, Davy, Schomberg and Ned Holt, were left with Morris's People to finish it.

30. The Rest of the Cradlers and hands went into the Neck and began there abt. 10 Oclock, Making a poor days work; having cut only that piece of New Ground containing 14 Acres next the widow Sheridine's.

JULY

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Went into the Neck to my Harvest People and returnd to Dinner

2. At home all day — the Captn. of ye Burmudian[1] dining here.

3. Rid round to my Harvest field in the Neck, with Mrs. Washington, Patcy, and Mill[y] Posey.[2] Returnd to Dinner.

4. Went over into the Neck again, and returnd to Dinner, with the Capt. of the Bermudian.

5. Went into the Field in the Neck and returnd to dinner. The Captn. dind here ag[ai]n.

6. Went into my Harvest field in the Neck. On my Re-

[1] Captain Burch, of a vessel from Bermuda. Washington purchased from him 562 barrels of salt, for curing and preserving fish, and a quantity of lime amounting in all to £35.7.6.

[2] Amelia (Milly) Posey, daughter of Captain John Posey. She seems to have been considered in the light of a ward of Mrs. Washington.

turn to Dinner found Mr. Chichester, his wife, and Nancy McCarty[1] here, who stayd all Night.

7. The above Company going away after Breakfast I went over into ye Neck and returnd to Dinner.[2]

8. Rid to Muddy hole in the Afternoon, where we began to cut Wheat.

9. At home all day.

10. Rid to Muddy hole in the forenoon. After dinner rid to Captn. Posey's where Mr. Jno. West[3] was Surveying; and then to my Wheat field again. Sally Carlyle came in ye Afternoon.

11. Rid to Muddy hole and returnd to Dinner. Found Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay and Mr. Stedlar here.

12. Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay and Mrs. Washington rid with me to Muddy hole and retd. to D[inne]r.

13. Mr. and Mrs. Ramsay and Sally Carlyle went away. I rid to the Mill where I was cutting of Wheat, and returnd to Dinner, where I found Mr. Frans. Thornton and my Br. Charles and his Son,[4] with whom rid out after Dinnr.

[1] A daughter of Captain Daniel McCarty.

[2] Ledger A of this date shows that the harvest hands, who worked so poorly as to merit mentioning in the diary (June 29th and 30th, *ante*), were, in addition to those Washington named in the June 29th entry, Elijah Houghton, Thomas Williams, Thomas Pursel, John Pursel, and young Palmer. They received five shillings a day and three dollars each for coming.

[3] This was John West, Jr., of West Grove. Washington also records his surveying with him in April, 1770, and his visits to him in August, 1770, on the business of the Colvill estate.

[4] George Augustine Washington, son of Charles, then about six years old.

14. Rid out in the fore and afternoon with my Brothr. and Mr. Thornton to ye Wheat field.

15. At home all day. Mr. Thornton and my Brothr. and Son Set of homewards after Dinner.

16. At Home all day. In the Morning Mr. Vale. Crawford came here, and in the afternoon Colo. Fairfax and Lady.

17. Went up to Alexandria to Court with Colo. Fairfax and returnd in ye Evening with him and Mr. Magowan.

18. Colo. Fairfax and Lady went home and I to Court again. Returnd in the Evg. with Colo. Richd. Lee.[1]

19. Again went up to Court and return in the afternoon.

20. At home all day. Majr. Waggener came here to Dinner and stayd all Night.

21. At home all day. Majr. Wagener and Mr. Magowan went away after Breakfast.

22. At home all day.

23. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Mr. Magowan w[ith] us.

24. Went to an intended vestry at ye cross Roads — but disappointed of one by Mr. Henderson's[2] refusg. to act.

[1] Richard Lee (1726–95), sometimes called 'Squier' Lee. His activities and fame were purely local. He was the son of Henry Lee and Mary (Bland) Lee and served many times as a member of the Virginia Legislature. In his old age he married his first cousin, Sally Poythress, then only sixteen years old. She was a granddaughter and he a grandson of Richard Bland.

[2] Alexander Henderson, of Colchester, who refused to act when chosen a vestryman in 1769. A few years afterwards he did not decline and was a member of the Pohick Vestry in 1773.

25. At home all day writing Letters and Invoices for England.[1]

26. Rid to my Meadow at ye Mill and to Doeg Run after Dinner.

27. Went up in the afternoon to Alexa. with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis. Mr. Magowan returnd to Maryland.

28. Rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole.

29. At home all day posting my Books.

30. At Home all day preparing for my journey to the Springs.[2]

31. Set out with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis for the Frederick Springs. Dind at Wm. Car Lains,[3] and lodgd at Mr. Chs. West's.[4]

[1] A long letter and several invoices of goods needed were written to Robert Cary & Co., London. Among the usual supplies for the plantations was included a rather formidable list of books for Master Custis, which included Greek and Latin classics as well as textbooks of geography, mathematics, and history. In regard to the supplies Washington directed that no articles in his list were to be sent if they were taxed by Parliament for raising a revenue in America. He had, he wrote, signed an association and was 'fully determined to adhere religiously to it.' On this day he also wrote a short business letter to Capel and Osgood Hanbury.

[2] The Warm Springs, now Bath or Berkeley Springs, in Morgan County, West Virginia, to which Patsy Custis was taken in hopes of benefiting her complaint, which seems to have been a form of epilepsy. There was no improvement derived from the Springs, and Washington's record of her seizures, entered upon the margins of the almanac pages for the months March to September, showed the malady to be increasing in violence.

[3] Carlain's (the name is now spelled Carlin) was west of Mount Vernon, on the road to the Blue Ridge Mountains.

[4] West's Ordinary, the ancient landmark which is marked on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map and where Washington frequently lodged from 1748 to 1776, still stands at the head of the Bull Run Mountain at the junction of the road from Colchester to William's (Snickers') Gap with the Carolina road

[JULY]

Remarks and Occurrences.

1*st.* Thoms. Williams, and Thomas Pursley set into Cradling to day. The Grain being wet, there was no tying it up till about 10 Oclock, nor did we attempt to Stack or House any till the afternoon, and then old Palmer and others thought the straw and grain rather too Green.

2. Sunday.

3. Finishd Stacking what was left out on Saturday; also finishd cuttg. and getting to the Stacks, all the Wheat that was in the half Cut on the River by Dinner and in the afternoon went into the half of the other cut adjoing. and got about half of it cut down and Stackd.

4. Finishd Cutting, getting in, and Stacking this half by Dinner and finding our progress very slow, and that the Cradlers were too many for the other workers, we reducd them to Ten after Dinner; after which, about one half of the other half of the Second Cut was got in, and securd, the work all going on well together; but then the Wheat was thinner; which enabled the Rakers and carryors to keep up better.

5. Finishd the other half of the Cut between Eleven and 12 (that is Cutting, Binding, and Stacking), and went into the half of the 3d. Cut by the gate just at 12 oclock with all hands. A Dog coming here which I suspected to be Mad I shot him, Several of the Hounds running upon him may have got bit. Note the consequences.

leading from the Potomac at Noland's Ferry to the Rappahannock at Norman's Ford. It was established by William West and carried on by his son Charles. It does not appear what, if any, relation these Wests of Loudoun bore to the Fairfax County family of that name. (See also notes for diary entries for April 10, 1748, and February 23, 1769, *ante*.)

6. Finishd the half cut by the Gate before breakfast, and the rest of the other half afterwards; just getting into the last cut before Sunset.

8. Finishd the whole field about one clock, and began about five oclock to cut in Muddy hole field.

12. Finishd cutting and Stacking Muddy hole Wheat, and dischargd Elijah Houghton, Thomas Williams, and William Acres.

13. Went to cutting the Wheat at the Mill with the Residue.

15. Finishd at Do. by Breakfast time and went from thence to Doeg Run Plantation and cut the Small field on this side the Run before Dinner.

Note. From the remarks and observations made this year in Harvesting my Wheat, it appeard evident that 10, and sometimes 9, Cradlers (according as the Wheat was thick or thin) were full suff. to keep the rest of my hands employ'd; and it likewise appeard, that it was evidently to my advantage to employ my own hands to Cradle the Wheat rather than to hire any at all, as these may be got for 2 Shillgs. or half a Crown a day, whereas the Wages of the White Cradlers are exorbitantly high. But if Wheat of different kinds are sowed so as to prevent the Harvest coming on at once, it is my opinion that hirelings of all kinds may be dispensed with. The Rakers in the generality of the Wheat is sufficient to Rake and bind after a Cradle, and the rest of the hands can manage (after the water Carriers and Cooks are taken out) to get the Wheat into conven[ien]t places and attend the Stackers. Two, and sometimes three, Stackers will Stack as fast as it is cut and I am of opinion that two brisk hands is sufft. for this purpose.

From experience it has been found advantageous to put the Cradlers and their attendants into at least 3 Gangs. The Stops and delays by this means are not so frequent, and the Work much better attended to, as every Mans work is distinguishable, and the whole Cradles not always stopping for every little disorder that happens to each respective one, as is the case when they cut altogether.

17. Began my Hay Harvest at Doeg Run Plantation.

21. Began to Sow Wheat at Muddy hole Plantation.

22. Began to Sow Ditto at Doeg Run Quarter.

28. The young Hound Bitch Chaunter was lind by Lord Fairfax's Rockwood (who appears to have the Mange) twice this day.

28. Got over my Corn in the Neck with the Plows the 3d time.

29. Chaunter again lind with Rockwood. The black bitch Countess appeard to be going proud was shut up in order to go to the same Dog.

30. Chaunter Lined again — by Rockwood.

AUGUST

Where and how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Set out from Chs. West's. Dined at Snicker's[1] and got to Mr. Wr. Washington's abt. 5 Oclock.

[1] Captain Edward Snickers, who had seen service in the French and Indian War. In the Revolutionary War, Washington offered him the position of Wagon-Master-General, which he did not accept, probably because of his advanced age. Snickers' Gap in the Blue Ridge was named from him. Its name has now been changed to Bluemont.

2. Remaind there all day. Mr. Washington returnd from Winchester in the Afternoon.

3. At Mr. Washington's all this day also.

4. Still at Mr. Washington's. Mr. Thruston[1] and Lady dining there. Note. I was detain'd this day and yesterday by ye waggon's (which had my Goods in for ye Springs) loosing 2 H[orse]s.

5. Prosecuted our Journey to ye Springs (by Jacob Hite's).[2] Bated at Opeekon — and lodged at Joshua Hedge's.[3]

6. Arriv'd at the Springs about One Oclock; and dind wh. Colo. F[airfa]x.

7. Rid out into the Country to seek a good Pasture for my Horses[4] and engagd to send them to one John Higgen's.

8. Sent my Horses to the above place with the Coachman.

9. Mr. Barclay dined with us and Mr. Maze.[5]

[1] Charles Mynn Thruston.

[2] In the Shenandoah. In crossing the Blue Ridge at Williams' Gap, later called Snickers' Gap, Washington must have crossed the Shenandoah at Williams' Ferry which later became known as Castleman's Ferry. Hite was a relative of Jost Hite who came into the Valley from Pennsylvania and, at an early date, disputed Lord Fairfax's claim to a portion of the Northern Neck lands.

[3] 'Dinner &ca. at Herefords. 8*s*. Lodging &ca. at Hedges 11*s*.' (*Ledger A*.)

[4] The first hours at the Springs were full of activity. The house wherein Washington and his party lodged needed repairing, and he ordered the erection of an arbor for further comfort; arrangements were made for supplies of meat, poultry, eggs, butter, and vegetables; a baker was found, and a blacksmith discovered for sundry repair work.

[5] Robert Mease, of Alexandria, later Mayor of that town.

10. Mr. Barclay[1] dined with us again, as did Mr. Power, and Mr. Geo. Thornton.[2]

11. Lord Fairfax and Colo. Geo. Fairfax dined with us.

12. Mr. Barclay dined with us this day also.

13. We dined with Lord Fairfax.

14. Colo. Loyd,[3] Mr. Cadwallader and Lady, Mrs. Dalton and Daughter, and Miss Terrett,[4] dind with us.

15. Had my Horses brought in to carry Colo. Loyd as far as Hedge's on his return home and rid with him as far as Sleepy Creek. Returnd to Dinner and had Mr. Barclay and a Mr. Brown to dine with me.

16. Horses returnd from carrying Colo. Loyd. Mr. Barclay, Mr. Goldsbury,[5] Mr. Hardwick, Mr. Jno. Lewis and Mr. W[arne]r Washington Junr. dined here.

17. Mr. Jno. Lewis and W. Washington dind here. We drank Tea with My Lord.

18. Mr. Barclay, Mr. Woodrow and Mr. Wood[6] dined

[1] The combination of names Barclay and Cadwallader (August 14) suggests the possibility of these individuals being members of the well-known families of those names in Pennsylvania. Berkeley Springs was a favorite resort with Pennsylvanians as well as Virginians; but it was not an easy place to reach for either.

[2] Toner thinks, of King George County.

[3] James Lloyd(?), of Annapolis, Maryland. (*Toner.*)

[4] Daughter of William H. Terrett, of Fairfax County. (*Toner.*)

[5] Goldsborough, of Maryland. Toner thinks Robert.

[6] James Wood (1750–1813), son of the founder of Winchester, Virginia. He was colonel of the 8th Virginia Regiment during the Revolutionary War and Governor of Virginia, 1796–99.

here. My Lord, the two Colo F[airfa]x's [1] and others drank Tea here.

19. Rid with Mrs. Washington and others to the Cacapehon Mountain,[2] to see the prospect from thence. Mr. Barclay, Mr. Thruston and Mr. Power dined with us.

20. Went to Church in the fore and afternoon. Mr. Jno. Lewis dind here. Lord Fairfax, ye two Colo. Fairfax's and others drank Tea here.

21. Mr. Maze and Lady, Mr. Sebastian,[3] Mr. Barclay and Mr. Allison [4] dind here.

22. Mr. Jno. Lewis dined here.

23. Dined alone — Patcy unwell.

24. Rid to Cacapeon with Lord Fairfax, ye 2 Colo. Fairfax's, Mr. Kimble,[5] Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis.

25. Dined here, Mr. Jno. Lewis and Mr. Flint.

26. Dined alone.

27. Dined with Lord Fairfax and drank Tea there also.

[1] Colonel Robert Fairfax, brother of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, and Colonel George William Fairfax, son of the Honorable William Fairfax, of 'Belvoir.'

[2] Now Capon Mountain in Morgan County, West Virginia. The Potomac River could probably be seen from this height.

[3] The Reverend Benjamin Sebastian, of Fairfax County.

[4] John(?) Allison, of Fairfax. Married a daughter of William Ramsay of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

[5] Peter Kimball, of New Jersey. Father-in-law of General Thomas Gage. (*Toner.*)

28. Lord Fairfax, Colo. R. Fairfax, Mr. Allan,[1] Mr. Meldrum and Colo. Stephen[2] dined here.

29. Dined alone.

30. Old Mr. Flint dined with us, otherwise we were alone.

31. Mr. Johnston, Mr. Woodrow, Captn. Dalton, his Daughter and Miss Terrett Dined here.

SEPTEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Mrs. Washington, Patcy and myself dined at Mr. Maze's.

2. Dind at home. Vale. Crawford dined with us.

3. Went to Church in the fore and afternoon, and dined with Lord Fairfax.

4. Rid to the Pasture where my Horses were. From thence to Mr. Flint's and to the Pensylvania Line,[3] and returnd to Dinnr. with Mr. Allan.

5. Dined at home alone, except Mr. Flint.

6. Colo. Robt. Fairfax dined here.

[1] John Allan, of Frederick County. (*Toner.*)

[2] Adam Stephen. In the French and Indian War, major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel of Virginia militia during the Colonial period and brigadier and major-general in the Revolution. He was court-martialed and dismissed from the Continental Army for drunkenness; but seems to have led an active and useful life afterwards in Virginia. He died in 1791.

[3] The Pennsylvania line in this region is not much over five miles from the Potomac River and the Berkeley Warm Springs are less than that distance from the river.

7. Dined alone. Vale. Crawford's Waggon came up for my Goods in the Evening.

8. Day too unlikely to set out, therefore waited. Dined alone.

9. Set out on my Return home about 8 Oclock but broke the Chariot and made it 11. before we got a Mile. Reachd Joshua Hedges.

10. Got to Mr. Warner Washington's — I calling by Vale. Crawford's and Mrs. Stephenson's.[1]

11. Continued my journey and reachd Chas. West's Ordinary, after baiting under the Ridge at the blacksmith's shop.[2]

12. Breakfasted at Wm. Carr Lane's[3] and arrivd at home about 3 oclock in ye afternoon.

13. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run and Mill Plantations.

14. Went to Alexandria, to the Election of Burgesses for Fairfax and was chosen, together with Colo. West, without a Pole,[4] their being no opposition.

15. Returnd home. Mr. Grayson and Mr. Robt. Harrison[5] came down in the afternoon.

[1] Mrs. Honora Stephenson, mother of William and Valentine Crawford. She married Richard Stephenson after the death of her first husband.

[2] 'Oats &ca. undr. ye Ridge at Snickrs. 8*s*. 9*d*.' (*Ledger A*.)

[3] Washington also ate dinner at Carlain's.

[4] This was the Virginia election in which the people of the Colony reëlected every one of the Burgesses of the House that had been dissolved by Governor Botetourt in May, 1769.

[5] This was Robert Hanson Harrison (1745–90), of Maryland, who practiced law at Alexandria for some years prior to the Revolution and thus was a member

16. Mr. Robt. Alexander came before Sun Rise this morning and we all went a fox huntg. Started one and Run him into a hollow tree in an hour and 20 minutes, Chasd him in the afternn. and killd in an h½.

17. At home all day. Mr. Harrison went away in the morning before breakfast; so did Mr. Alexander, and Mr. Grayson went away in the afternoon.

18. Went to Court at Alexandria and returnd home in the Evening.

19. Went to Court again to day. Stayd all Night and went to see slight of hand performd.[1]

20. Returnd home early this morning by a Messenger from Mrs. Washington. Mr. George Alexander dined here and went away in the afternoon.

21. Captn. Posey calld here in the Morng. and we went to a Vestry. Upon my return found Mr. B. Fairfax and Mr. P. Wagener here.

22. Went a huntg. and killd a bitch fox in abt an hour. Returnd home with an Ague upon me. Mr. Montgomery[2] came to Dinner.

23. Went a huntg, again with ye Compy. aforesaid, and suppose we killd a fox but could not find it. Returnd with my Ague again. Mr. Wagener went home.

and clerk of the Fairfax Committee of Safety of 1774. During the war he served as Washington's military secretary, and in 1781 was elected Chief Justice of the General Court of Maryland. Washington appointed him a member of the original Supreme Court of the United States, but he declined in order to become Chancellor of Maryland. He died at his seat at Port Tobacco, Maryland.

[1] 'By Exps. at Alexandria 4*s* 6*d*.' (*Ledger A*.)

[2] Thomas Montgomery, of Dumfries. (*Toner*.)

24. Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Montgomery both went away after breakfast.

25. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

26. Rid into the Neck. Found Mr. Stedlar here upon my Return. Mr. Geo. Alexander dined and lodgd here.

27. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill. Mr. Alexander went away this morng. and Colo. Fairfax and Lady, and Sally and Nancy Carlyle[1] dind here.

28. Mr. Stedlar went away. I rid to Alexandria to see how my House went on.[2] Returnd to Dinr.

29. Miss Sally Carlyle went away, I rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

30. Went a Hunting. Catchd a Rakoon but never found a Fox. One Doctr. Harris of Goochland dined here.

SEP[TEMBE]R

Remarks and Occurrences.

1*st.* Finishd Sowing Wheat at my Mill Plantation — in all Bushels — 75.

4. Finishd sowing Wheat at Muddy hole with . . . . . 96.[3]

11. Began to get Fodder at the Mill.

12. Sowed all the Corn ground at Doeg Run with Wheat,

[1] Nancy Carlyle, daughter of Colonel John Carlyle, of Alexandria.

[2] At the southwest corner of Pitt and Cameron Streets. The house is not now standing.

[3] Dots in ms.

except some of the Swamps which were left for Barley . . . 65½.

14. Finishd Sowing Corn Gd. Wheat in the Neck. . . . .

15. Began to get Fodder there.

27. Finishd Sowing the Fallow Gd. in the Neck with Bushels . . . 151; which makes in all sowed there . . . . . 387½.

27. Finishd getting Fodder at the Mill.

29. Finishd getting Ditto at Muddy hole.

30. Finishd getting Do at Doeg Run.

Note. The Fallowed Ground above mentiond containd abt. 40 Acres and lay in that part of the 211 Acre Field next to Abednego Adams[1] about 30 acres of which was old Ground, the Rest New. This Land recd. its first Plowing in the Month of Septr., and that part of it which the Corn rows run through receivd no other Plowing till the Wheat was sowed, which was then plowed in and afterwards Harrowed. The other Part was cross Plowed, then Sowed and Plowed in, and the end of the Field next to Abednego Adams' Harrowed in the following manner, to wit. five Ridges, or Lands of eight feet each, harrowed, five others not harrowed; then 5 Harrowed, and five not, so for a good way. This was done to see which method was best, that is whether the Wheat woud thrive better in the one way than the other and whether the Land was not preservd more by Harrowing than lying in Furrows.

[1] Abednego Adams Farm was below and adjoining the Posey land, or Mount Vernon's 'Ferry Farm.' (*Toner.*)

OCTOBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Dined at Belvoir with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis. Returnd in the Evening.

2. Colo. Carlyle and two Daughters, Captn. Brady, and Captn, Posey, dined here.

3. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

4. Rid to Alexandria to see how my Carpenters went on with my Ho. Returnd to Dinr.

5. Went after Blew Wings with Humphrey Peake, killd 3 and returnd by Muddy hole.

6. Went a hunting but found nothing. After which Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill.

7. At home all day.

8. Likewise at home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Robt. Alexander came.

9. Went a fox hunting and finding a Deer the Dogs run it to the water, but we never see it. Mr. Alexr. went home.

10. Went to Captn. Posey's to Run the lines of the Land he bought of Mr. Marshall.[1] Dind there.

11. At home all day.

[1] Thomas Marshall, who owned what is now called 'Marshall Hall' on the Potomac, in Maryland, almost opposite Mount Vernon.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill. Captn. Posey dined here.

13. Captn. Marshall came over here and dined, and I rid with him round his Land.

14. Went a Fox hunting. Started a Dog Fox by old Palmer's and Run it back of Mr. Clifton's and there catchd it. Went afterwards into the Neck. Mr. Matthew Campbell dined here.

15. At home all day alone. My Brother Charles came at Night.

16. Went up to Court and returnd at Night.[1]

17. Went to Court again and returnd. Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Magowan came here.

18. Went a Fox huntg. with Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Magowan. Found and killd a Dog Fox.

19. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill, after Mr. Fairfax went away.

20. At Home all day.

21. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill. Mr. Magowan went to Colchester.

22. At home all day — alone.

23. Went to Posey's Sale. Returnd at Night with Colo.

[1] 'By Mr. Robt. Harrison — Fee in Posey's Suit £3.' (*Ledger A.*) Posey's mismanagement forced him into bankruptcy. Hector Ross and others obtained a judgment in chancery in the Fairfax court and the sale of Posey's effects was ordered.

Mason, Mr. Ross, Mr. Sebastian,[1] Mr. Harrison, Mr. Magowan, and Colo. Mason's Son George.[2]

24. Went to the Sale again. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Sebastian and Mr. Magowan came home with me, also Robt. Alexander.[3] Found Doctr. Rumney here.

25. Went to the Sale again. Mr. Harrison and Mr. Magowan returned home with me.

26. At home all day, Mr. Harrison went away in the Afternoon.[4]

27. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and Mill; also to my New purchase of Posey's Land.[5] Mr. Stedlar went away.

28. At home all day. Mr. Magowan went home.

29. At home all day. Captn. McCarty came in the Afternoon.

30. Set out on my journey to Williamsburg and reached Colo. Henry's Lee's to a Late Dinner.

31. Set out from thence abt. Nine Oclock and reachd no further than Peyton's Ordy. on Aquia. being stopt by Rain.[6]

[1] Benjamin Sebastian, of Alexandria. (*Toner.*)

[2] Oct. 24. 'By Cash paid Colo. Mason on Acct. of Land bought of him — viz 100 Acres £100.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] 'By £131. 15*s.* 0*d.* paid Mr. Robt. Alexander, with Gold & Dollars value in Virga. £103.4 —' (*Ledger A.*)

[4] 'By Mr. Robt. Harrison for his Services at Poseys Sale £6.' (*Ledger A.*) Washington made purchases to the amount of £571. 16*s.* 0*d.*

[5] An addition to the Ferry Farm.

[6] Washington reached Williamsburg November 6th. He attended the sessions of the House of Burgesses from November 7th to December 21st. His accounts charge ten days against the State for traveling to and from Williamsburg to Mount Vernon.

OCT[OBE]R

Remarks and Occurs.

4. Finished getting Fodder in the Neck.

12. Finished Hoeing over my Swamps at Doeg Run and preparing them for Barley.

20. Sowed (at the rate of about two Bushels to the Acre) some large Salt on a piece of fallowed gd. in the Neck that was old and much worn.

Note. The manner in which I did this, was as follows; the Ground being plowed into 8 feet Lands, I sowed two of them, and left two, sowed two, and left two alternately; sticking stakes at the Head of the Lands that were Sowed with Salt. This Salt was Sowed on a piece of Flat Ground that has been very much worn and was harrowed after the Wheat had been plowed in.

NOVEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Came from Peyton's to Colo. Lewis's, after breakfasting at my Mother's.

2. At Fredericksburg all day.

3. About one Oclock set out and reachd Parker's Ordy.

4. Set out from thence after Breakfast. Dined at Todd's Bridge and lodgd at King Wm. Court House.

5. Breakfasted at ye Causey and Dind at Eltham and lodgd there.[1]

[1] 'By [Expences] at Ruffins 16/. Seeing Tyger 3/1½.' (*Ledger A.*)

6. Came to Williamsburg. Dind at Mr. Carter's[1] with Lord Botetourt, Govr. Eden,[2] etca., and suppd. at Mrs. Vobe's with Colo. Fitzhugh.[3]

7. Dined at the Governor's, and Supped at Anthony Hayes.

8. Dined at the Speaker's, and supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

9. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's, and supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

10. Dined at the Treasurer's, and Supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

11. Clear and pleast. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and went up to Eltham.

12. Stayd at Eltham all day.

13. Came to Town abt. 11 Oclock. Dined and suppd at Mrs. Campbell's.

14. Dined and Supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

15. Dined at Wythe's, and supped at Anthony Hay's.

16. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's at or after 5 Oclock, and spent the Evening there without Supping.

17. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's after 4, and spent the Eve-

[1] 'Councillor' Robert Carter, of Nomini Hall.
[2] Sir Robert Eden, Governor of Maryland.
[3] Colonel Henry Fitzhugh, of 'Chatham,' near Fredericksburg.

ning there without Supping — Having 1 Bowl of P. and Toddy.

18. Had a Mutton Chop at Mrs. Campbell's with Colo. Bassetts about one Clock, and then came up to Eltham.

19. Went to Church and Returnd to Eltham to Dinner, wt Mr. Dangerfd.[1] and the Parson.

20. At Eltham all day — occasioned by Rain.

21. Came to Town with Mrs. Washington, P[atcy] and Jacky Custis. I dind at Mrs. Campbell's; Mrs. W. &ca. dind at Mrs. Dawson's. I spent the Eveng. (without suppg.) at Mrs. Campbell's.

22. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's all of us. I and J. P. Custis supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

23. Dined with Mrs. Washington, &ca. at the Speaker's by Candlelight, and spent the Evg. there also.

24. J. P. Custis and I dined with others at the Govr's. I spent the Evening at Haye's.

25. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's with Mrs. Washington and J. P. C., as also did Colo. and Mrs. Bassett. Spent the Evening in my own Room.

26. Dined at Colo. Burwell's [Bassett]. Mrs. Washington, J. P. C. and Mrs. Bassett dined at Mrs. Campbell's. I spent the Evening in my own Room.

27. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's with Mrs. Washington and

[1] William Dangerfield, of New Kent. (*Toner.*)

the Children. Supped with J. P. Custis at Mrs. Campbell's.

28. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's by Candle light. Spent the Evening there without Supping.

29. Dined at the Treasurer's. Mrs. Washington and Mr. and Miss Custis dind at Mrs. Dawson's. I supped at the Treasurer's.

30. Dined at the President's,[1] and spent the Evening there without Suppg.

DECEMBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's with the Speaker, Treasurer and other Company. Mrs. Washington and Childn. Dined at the Attorney's. Myself and J. P. Custis supped at Mrs. Campbell's.

2. Mrs. Washington and children, myself, Colo. Basset, Mrs. Basset and Betsey Bassett, all Eat Oysters at Mrs. Campbell's abt. one oclock, and afterwards went up to Eltham.

3. At Eltham all day.

4. Returnd to Town and dined at Mrs. Campbell's. Spent Eveng. there also witht. Supg.

5. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening there without Supping. — in.

6. Dined at Mr. Cocke's[2] and spent the Eveng. there.

[1] President of the Governor's Council, at this time, William Nelson (1711–72).
[2] John Cocke, or Cooke, of Williamsburg. (*Toner.*)

7. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and the Evening spent in my Room.

8. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and was engagd at Charlton's[1] abt. Colo. Moore's Lott'y the Evg.[2]

9. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and suppd there with the Speaker, &ca.

10. Dined at the Speaker's and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

11. Dined at Mr. Wythe's, and the Eveng. spent in my own Room.

12. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

13. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and went to the Ball at the Capitol.

14. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spent part of the Evening in drawing Colo. Moore's Lottery.

15. Dined at the Attorney's and went to Southall's in the Evening to draw Colo. Moore's Lottery.

16. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and drawg. Colo. Moore's Lottery till 10 Oclock, and then compleated it.[3]

17. Dined at the Palace and went up in the Afternoon to Colo. Bassett's.

[1] Richard Charlton's inn in Williamsburg.

[2] Colonel Thomas Moore, of King William County.

[3] Washington evidently had clerical assistance in this lottery drawing, as Ledger A shows an entry on December 16th 'for 3 suppers &ca,' fourteen shillings paid to Mr. Anthony Hay.

18. Came to Town again abt. 12 Oclock. Dind at Mrs. Campbell's and spent the Evening in my own Room a writing.

19. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's an hour after Candle Light, and spent the Eveng. in my own Room.

20. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and spt. the Evening in my own Room.

21. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and came up to Eltham after the House adjourned.

22. Sett of for home. Dined at Todd's Bridge and lodgd at Hubbard's.

23. Breakfasted at Caroline Ct. House and reachd Fredericksburg abt. 4 Oclock in the afternn., ding. at Colo. Lewis.

24. Went to Prayers, and dined afterw[ar]ds at Colo. Lewis. Spent the Evening with Mr. Jones,[1] at Julian's.[2]

25. Dined and spent the Evening at Colo. Lewis's.

26. Dined at Colo. Lewis and went over the River and lodgd at my Mother's.[3]

27. Dined and lodgd at Dumfries with Mr. Boucher and J. P. Custis, who overtook us on the Road.[4]

28. Reachd home to Dinner with Mr. Boucher, &ca.

[1] Edward Jones, overseer on Mrs. Mary Washington's plantation. (*Toner.*)
[2] A tavern at Fredericksburg.
[3] Dec. 27. 'By my Mother £6.' (*Ledger A.*)
[4] 'By Expences at Dumfries £2.3.9.' (*Ledger A.*)

29. At Home all day.

30. Mr. Boucher went away. I Rid to my Mill with [John] Ball,[1] and agreed with [him] to Build her.

31. At Home all day.[2]

[1] A millwright; he built the mill on Dogue Run.

[2] On this last day of the year Washington balanced his accounts and makes the following interesting entry: 'By Cash lost, Stolen, or paid away without charging £143.15.2.'

1770

January 1–December 31

Original in the Library of Congress

1770

[JANUARY]

Where & how my time is spent.

1. At home all day alone.

2. At home all day. Mr. Peake dined here.

3. At home all day alone.

4. Went a hunting with Jno. Custis and Lund Washington. Started a Deer and then a Fox, but got neither.

5. Rid to Muddy hole and Doeg Run. Carrd. the Dogs with me, but found nothing. Mr. Warnr. Washington and Mr. Thruston came in the Evening.

6. The two Colo. Fairfax's and Mrs. Fairfax dind here, as did Mr. R. Alexander and the two Gentn. that came the day before. The Belvoir Family returnd after Dinner.

7. Mr. Washn. and Mr. Thruston went to Belvoir.

8. Went a huntg. with Mr. Alexander, J. P. Custis and Ld. W—n.[1] Killd a fox (a dog one) after 3 hours chase. Mr. Alexr. went away and Wn. and Thruston came in ye aftern.

9. Went a ducking, but got nothing, the Creeks and Rivers being froze. Mr. Robt. Adam dined here and returnd.

[1] Lund Washington.

10. Mr. W—n. and Mr. Thruston set of home. I went a hunting in the Neck and visited the Plantn. there. Found and Killd a bitch fox, after treeing it 3 times and chasg. it abt. 3 Hrs.

11. At home all day alone.

12. Ditto, Ditto.

13. Dined at Belvoir with Mrs. Washington, Mr. and Miss Custis, and returnd afterwards.

14. At home all day alone.

15. Went up to Alexandria, expecting Court, but there was none.

16. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

17. At home all day alone.[1]

18. Went to the Plantn. in the Neck.

19. At home all day alone.

20. Went a hunting with Jacky Custis and catchd a Bitch Fox after three hours chace — founded it on ye Ck. by J. Soals.[2]

21. At home all day alone.

22. Rid to Posey's Barn and the Mill.

[1] Jan 17. 'By Richd. Lake — Balle. Acct. for Work done on my House in Alexandria. £22.5.2.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Joseph Soal, a weaver and tenant of Washington's.

23. Went a hunting after breakfast and found a Fox at Muddy hole and killd her (it being a Bitch), after a chace of better than two hours, and after treeing her twice, the last of which times she fell dead out of the Tree after being therein sevl. minutes apparently well. Rid to the Mill afterwards. Mr. Semple[1] and Mr. Robt. Adam dind here.

24. At home all day alone.

25. At home all day alone.

26. Ditto. Do., Do.

27. Went a hunting, and after trailing a fox a good while the Dogs Raizd a Deer and run out of the Neck with it, and did not (some of them at least come home till the next day).

28. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Semple came here.

29. Dined at Belvoir (with J. P. Custis) and returnd in the afternoon.

[1] John Semple was an intelligent Scot who in 1765 succeeded John Ballendine in the operation of the Occoquan Mills. He came to see Washington on this occasion, as again several times during the succeeding months, to interest him in his 'Proposals for clearing the Potomac,' based on the contemporary Scottish school of capitalistic political economy. His plan was that a company should be organized to improve the river by subscription of 'a stock,' profits on which might be assured by the privilege to collect tolls. (See the documents in *American Historical Review*, April, 1923, XXVIII, 497.) This was novel doctrine in Virginia in 1769, but it seems to have convinced Washington: at all events, he introduced a bill into the Assembly at the ensuing session to carry out Semple's proposals. The visits of Ballendine and John Mason to Mount Vernon, and Washington's own visit at Georgetown at this time, were doubtless on this business. The bill of 1770 failed, but in 1772 Washington renewed his efforts and secured its enactment, whereupon Ballendine was sent to England to solicit subscriptions to the company. Although nothing came of the first plans, they were the beginning of the 'Patowmack Company' to which Washington was to devote his energies on his return to Mount Vernon in 1783.

30. Went a hunting, and having found a Deer by Piney Cover it run to the head of Accatinck before we coud stop the Dogs. Mr. Peake dined here.

31. At home alone.

[FEBRUARY]

Where & how my time is spent.

1. Went a huntg. (being joind by Mr. Peake, Wm. Triplet and Harrison Manley), and after a Chace of near five hours we killd a Fox. Mr. Piper and Mr. Adam came here this afternoon.

2. Mr. Adam and myself walk'd to the Mill and up Doeg Run before Dinner.

3. At home all day. The above Gentlemn. returnd after dinner to Alexandria.

4. At home all day. Carlin[1] the Taylor came here in the afternoon and stayed all Night.

5. At home all day. In the Evening Sally Carlyle and Betty Dalton came here.

6. Rid to Muddy hole. Sally Carlyle went to Belvoir. Betty Dalton stayd.

7. Rid to Alexandria to a meeting of ye Trustees.[2] Returnd in the Evening and found Captn. McCarty here.

[1] William Carlin, of Alexandria.

[2] This was Washington's first trustee meeting. He had been chosen, in 1766, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of George Johnson. The duty of a town trustee was equivalent to that of an alderman.

8. Captn. McCarty, Doctr. Rumney, and Mr. Jno. Ballendine Dined and lodged here.

9. Went a hunting. Found a Fox and lost it. Mr. Ballendine and ye Doctr. still here. Captn. McCarty went from the field.

10. Jacky Custis returnd to Mr. Boucher's to School. Mr. Ballendine and myself leveled Doeg Run in ordr. to fix on a Mill Seat. Returnd to Dinr. wt. the Doctr.

11. The Doctr. still here. Mr. Ballendine went away early in the Morng. at home all day.

12. At home all day — with the Doctr.

13. At home all day — with the Doctr. Mr. Fairfax came in the afternoon.

14. Went to the Neck with Mr. Fairfax a huntg., but was forcd back by Rain. Doctr. Rumney returnd to Alexandria after breakfast this day.

15. Went a huntg. again with Mr. Fairfax and found a fox at the head of the blind Pocoson, which we suppose was killd in an hour but coud not find it. Mr. Peake dind here and Mr. R. Alexander came after.

16. Huntg. again. Found a bitch fox at Piney branch and killd it in an hour. Mr. Alexr. went away [after?] dinner.

17. At home all day alone.

18. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner.

19. Went to Court at Alexandria and returnd in the Evening.

20. Went up to Court again and stayd all Night. Lodgd at Captn. Dalton's.

21. Came home in the Evening — Mr. Ross with me.

22. Went up to Court again. Mr. Ross returnd to Colchester. Returnd in the Evening and found my Brothers Saml. and John and the latter's wife and Daughter, Mr. Lawe. Washington and Daughter, and ye Revd. Mr. Smith here.

23. At home all day with the above Com[pany].

24. Went out with the hounds but found nothing.

25. At home all day.

26. At home all day.

27. Ditto . . . Ditto.

28. Went out with Guns Returnd about 12 Oclock without killg. of anything. My Brothers and the Company that came with them still here.

FEB[RUAR]Y

Remarks & Occurs.

2*d.* Agreed with Joseph Goart,[1] to come down and raise Stone out of my Quarry for my Mill at the Rate of Three pounds pr. Month, 26 days to the Month, and lost time to be made up.

[1] A stone-cutter, employed for a year or so at Mount Vernon. (*Toner.*)

3. Agreed with Mr. Robt. Adam for the Fish catchd at the Fishing Landing I bought of Posey, on the following terms, to wit:

He is obligd to take all I catch at the place, provided the quantity does not exceed 500 Barls; and will take more than this qty. if he can get cask to put them in. He is to take them as fast as they are catchd, without giving any interruption to my people; and is to have the use of the Fish House for his Salt, fish, &ca., taking care to have the House clear at least before the next Fishing Season.

In consideration of which he is to pay me Ten pounds for the use of the House; give 3/ a thousd. for the Herrings (Virg. Money) and 8/4 a hundred (Maryland curry.) for the white fish.

Mr. Piper and Lund Washington present.

[MARCH]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. My Brothers and the Company with them went away about 10 Oclock. I went to level[1] the Ground on the other side of Doeg Run. Mr. Magowan and Captn. Wm. Crawford came here this afternoon.

2. At home all day with the two.

3. Ditto . . . Ditto . . . . Ditto

4. Mr. Crawford set of for Williamsburg, and Mr. Magowan for Colchester, the last of whom returnd.

5. Mr. Magowan went to Dumfries and I to Mr. Rt. Alexander's on a hunting Party, where I met Mr. B.

[1] That is, to survey levels preparatory to Ball's erecting the mill. See also under March 19th and 21st, *post.*

Fairfax; but first I went over to George Town,[1] returng. to Mr. Alexander's at Night.

6. Went out a hunting with Mr. Alexander [and] his Brothers. Found two or three Foxes, but killd neither.

7. Went a hunting again. Found a Fox and run it 6 hours, and then lost [it.] I returnd home this Evening.

8. Went to Belvoir with Mr. Magowan. Dined and Returnd in the afternoon.

9. At home all day.

10. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill. Mr. Magowan went home.

11. At home all day alone.

12. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

13. Went a huntg. above Darrel's Hills and to G. Alexr's. Pocoson.[2] Found a fox by two Dogs in Clifton's Neck, but lost it upon joing. the Pack. Returnd abt. 5 Oclock and found Colo. Mason and Mr. Christian[3] here.

14. At home all day. Colo. Mason and Mr. Christian dined here and returnd afterwards.

15. At home all day — alone.

[1] 'By Exps. at George Town 2*s.* 6*d.* By John Jost for my Rifle in full £6.10. Maryld. . . £5.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Toner thinks this was what afterwards was known as 'Pompey Gale's Marsh,' about one mile southeast of Alexandria.

[3] Dancing-master who taught the young people of Fairfax. His classes met at the different houses.

16. Went to doeg run and took the hounds with me. Found a fox by the Widow Ashford's[1] and soon lost him. Upon my return home found Colo. Lewis, my Br. Chs. and Mr. Brooke[2] here. In the Evening Mr. Jno. West and Mr. Stedlar came — also Mr. Whiting.[3]

17. Rid with Mr. West to Mr. Triplet's to settle the Lines of Harrison's[4] Patent. Passed by the Mill with Colo. Lewis. Mr. Whiting went home this Morning and Mr. West in the afternoon from Triplet's.

18. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Colo. Lewis, &ca. went away this Morning, and Jno. Ball the Millwright came in the afternoon.

19. Went to the Mill with Jno. Ball to take the Level of the Run on the other side: did not get home till Night.[5]

20. Went up to the Court and returnd in the Evening.

21. Joind some dogs that were self hunting, and from thence went to the Mill and was levelling all the remainder of the day with Jno. Ball, &ca.

22. Rid to the Mill and laid of with the Millwright the

[1] Widow of George Ashford, father of William. (*Toner.*)

[2] Brooke, of Prince William County. (*Toner.*)

[3] At the card game this night Washington lost *6s. 3d.*

[4] The patent here referred to was that Northern Neck grant of December 23, 1706, of 4639 acres 'on the south side of Great Hunting Creek below the fork' to John West, William Harrison, Thomas Pearson, and Thomas Harrison (*Northern Neck Grant Books*, 3:153), the West's shore of which was the foundation of their land holdings in Fairfax. The John West here named was the founder of the family on the Potomac. William Pearson was his brother-in-law and the Harrisons were sons of his friend Burr Harrison of Chipawansic. Thomas Harrison was long a justice and county lieutenant of Prince William.

[5] 'By Mr. Wm. Adam for my Subscription toward decorating the Falls Church £1.' (*Ledger A.*)

foundation for the new Mill House. Upon my return found Captn. Crawford here.

23. At home all day. Captn. Crawford and Mr. Manley here.

24. Surveying the Vacancy's of waste Land by Mr. [Wm.] Triplet and straitning the Mill Race.

25. At home all day. In the afternoon Messrs. B. Fairfax and Robt. and Philp. Alexander came here.

26. Went a hunting with the above Gentln. and killd a fox after two hours chace. The two Mr. Triplet's, Peake, &ca. were with us. T. Triplet and H. Manley din'd here.

27. Again went a hunting with the above Compy. but found no Fox. Mr. Geo. Alexander and Mr. Peake dind here with the other Compy., as Mr. Ramsay did.

28. Went a huntg. again and killd a fox. All the Compy. went home from the field.

29. Running some Lines by Mr. Wm. Triplet's all day.

30. At Home. The two Colo. Fairfax's and Mrs. Fairfax dind here and returnd in the afternoon.

31. At home all day — writing.

MAR[CH]

Remarks and Occurans.

6*th*. Joseph Gort a stone Mason came here to raise Stone. Began to enlist Corn Ground at Muddy hole Plantation.

Began to Enlist Ditto in the Neck, that is, to lay of the Ground.

Began the same work at Doeg Run Plantation.

26. Countess a hound Bitch after being confind sometime got loose and was lined before it was discovered by my Water dog once, and a small foist looking yellow cur twice.

28. She was lined by Ranger, a dog I had from Mr. Fairfax.

28. I Planted three french Walnuts in the New Garden and on that side next the work House.

[APRIL]

Where & how my time is spent.

1. Went to Pohick Church and returnd home to Dinner.

2. Rid to see Mr. Humphrey Peake who lay ill. Returnd to Dinner.

3. Rid to see Mr. Peake again with Mrs. Washington. Returnd to Dinner.

4. Rid to the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole.

5. Rid into the Neck and called to see Mr. Peake in my way.

6. Went a hunting, but found nothing. Returnd to Dinner.

7. Run round the Lines [1] of the Land I bought of the

[1] Andrew Robinson assisted Washington in this survey work.

Ashfords. In the Evening Doctr. Craik, his wife and daughter, and Mr. Phil. Fendall [1] came here.

8. Major Wagener came here to Dinner and the others went away after it.

9. Major Wagener went away after breakfast. I rid to Muddy hole, and from thence to the Mill.

10. Miss Polly Washington [2] set of home. I rid to the Genl. Muster at Cameron.[3]

11. Rid to Doeg Run Q[uarte]r and returnd to Dinner. Mr. John West came in the afternoon.

12. Mr. West and I run and markd the Dividing Line between my Part and that of Spencer's Tract; at least began to do it, but cd. not finish it.

13. We finished to day what we began yesterday, and he and Mr. Robt. Adam dined and lodged here.

14. Rid to the Mill and fishing Landg. at Posey's. Mr. Stedlar came in the afternoon, and Mr. West and Mr. Adam went away in the Morng. before breakfast.

14. Rid to the Mill — and came home by the Fishery at Posey's, found Mr. Stedlar here; and in the afternoon the Stone Mason's came — to go about my Mill.

15. At home all day. Mr. Grayson came here in the afternoon.

[1] Of Alexandria.
[2] Toner thinks Polly was a daughter of Lawrence Washington, of Chotank.
[3] 'By Expences at Cameron 1*s.* 3*d.*' (*Ledger A.*)

16. Went up to Alexandria to Court and stayed all Night.

17. Returnd home in the afternoon with Mr. Josh. Gallaway,[1] and Colo. R. Lee.

18. The above Gentlemen went away after breakfast. Patcy Custis and Milly Posey went to Colo. Mason's to the Dancing School.[2] Mr. Magowan who I found here yesterday stayed. Mr. [John] Ball and one of his People set in to Work to day — as did the Mason's to raising stone yesterday.

19. Mr. Magowan and Mr. Adam dind here. The Masons began to Dig the foundation of my Mill at 2/6 pr. day. I rid to the Mill and Doeg Run.

20. Rid to see Mr. Peake, who was sick; from thence to the Mill and home by Posey's. Mr. Adam[3] dind here.

21. Rid to where they were digging the foundation of my Mill and home again by the Mill wright and the fishery at Posey's.

22. At home all day. Mr. Adam and Doctr. Rumney dined here, and the latter lodged here also and Captn. Posey.

23. Rid to see Mr. Peake; from thence by Muddy hole, and Doeg Run to the Mill, and then home by the fishg.

[1] Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania. He was a delegate to the Continental Congresses of 1774 and 1775; but in the latter year he changed from an ultra-conservative to a positive loyalist. He went to England soon after taking sides against the Colonies and testified before Parliament as to the state of American affairs. He died in England.

[2] 'By Mr. Christian Entrance for P. Custis and Milly Posey £2.' (*Ledger A.*) Colonel Mason's was, of course, 'Gunston Hall.'

[3] Robert Adam.

Landing. Mr. Adam dined and lodgd here. Captn. Posey also lodgd here.

24. Went the same Round as yesterday. Captn. McCarty and Captn. Posey dined here and the Doctr. lodgd here.

25. The Doctr. went away after breakfast, and I rid the same round. Colo. Robt. Fairfax calld here in the forenoon but did not stay dinner.

26. Rid my usual rounds before Dinner — and the same after dinnr.

27. Went to Belvoir. Dined and returnd afterwards.

28. Rid to the Millwright's Mill, and to Mr. Peake's before dinner; and to the fishery at Posey['s] and to the Mill again in the afternoon.

29. At home all day. Doctr. Rumney dined and lodged here; and Mr. Matthw. Campbell lodged here.

30. The Doctr. stayed till after dinner and then returnd to Alexandria. I rid to the Mill and my usual rounds before dinner, and to the Mill after Dinner.

AP[RI]L

Remarks and Occurrances.

9*th*. Finished listing Ground for Corn at Muddy hole.

Do. The Hound Bitch Singer was lined by Jowler.

11. The Bitch Truelove was lined twice by Ringwood.

She had been frequently shut up with forrister, but it is thought he never lined her.

13. Forrister was seen lined to Truelove.

14. This day I began to draw the water of my Meadow by breaking the Dam or stop that confind it.

13. Began my Fishery at Posey's for Mr. Robt. Adam.

14. Hull and the other Stone Mason came here to set about my Mill, but did not begin work till the 17th.

15. Singer was again lined by Jowler and Truelove by Ringwood.

16. Mr. Ball, the Mill wright, and one of his People came here to work.

17. Hull and his Partner began to raise stone.

18. Ball and his Apprentice set abt. the shaft for the Mill, &ca.

18. Jowler lined Singer and Ringwood Truelove again.

19. The Masons went to digging the foundation of my Mill at 2/6 pr. day.
Jowler lined Singer, and Forrister lined Truelove.

20. Jowler again lined Singer.

21. Richd. Talbot and one other of Ball's hands came here in the afternoon.

23. Began to Plant Corn in the Neck, at Muddy hole, and at Doeg Run.

23. Mr. Ball, Talbot and Grennel were levelling the Mill Race; his other hand went for their Tools to Cameron. T. Ball came this aftern. Thomas Bird set to work on the foundation of the Mill at 1/3 pr. day.

26. He began to work on my Mill Race at 1/3 pr. Rod and to find himself. And Sciagusta[1] a prisoner from the Indians came here, and began to work with my People.

27. As it Raind from abt. 3 or 4 Oclock in the afternoon I presume work was stoped by the Millwrights and Masons.

28. Cleveland's Waggon and Team began to work for me at pr. day. Reason one of Ball's Men did no work by a Boyl under his arm.

29. Coxe Rice came to work at the rate of 30/ pr. Month and Victuals found him. Reason Porter went to work again to day.

[MAY]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Rid in the forenoon to where the Millwrights and Masons were at work; also the Ditchers and the fish Landing at Posey's. In the afternoon rid to the Mill only. Mrs. W. Washington[2] and her youngest child, and Mrs. Bushrod and Katy Washington[3] came in ye Eveng.

2. Mrs. Washington went to Belvoir and Mrs. Bushrod

[1] Sciagusta did not work long, as he received but three shillings for his services.

[2] Mrs. Hannah, second wife of Warner Washington. She was the daughter of the Honorable William Fairfax, of 'Belvoir.'

[3] Toner thinks she was the daughter of Warner Washington.

continued here. I rid to the Mill, and Ditchers in the forenoon, and afternoon.

3. Went the above rounds before dinner, but did not go out afterwards.

4. Rid to the Masons and Ditchers before dinner.

5. Rid to the Mill Rights, Masons and Ditchers before dinner, and to Doeg Run Qr.

6. At home all day. Colo. Robt. Fairfax, Mrs. Fairfax, Mrs. W. Washington, and the two Miss Carlyles came from Belvoir and dined here. Colo. Fairfax, Mrs. Fairfax and Nancy Carlyle returnd after dinr. Mrs. W—— and Sally stayed.

7. Rid to the Mill ditchers, etca., before dinner, and to the Mill afterwards.

8. Went the same round again and promised the ditchers 18 d. a Rod if they would be brisk and stick to it.

Miss Betty Ramsay and Milly Hunter,[1] also Anthy. Ramsay,[2] came here to day; the latter returnd after dinner, the others stayed.

9. Mr. Christian danced here, who, (besides his Scholars, and those already mentioned to be here, Mrs. Peake and Niece, Mr. Massey,[3] Mr. Piper and Mr. Adams dined here.

[1] Milly Hunter, daughter of Dr. John Hunter, of Alexandria?

[2] Of Alexandria, son of Colonel Dennis Ramsay. Anthony was one of the pall-bearers at Washington's funeral. (*Toner.*)

[3] The Reverend Lee Massey (1732–1814), succeeded the Reverend Charles Green, as minister of Truro Parish. His third wife was Elizabeth Bronaugh, a cousin of George Mason.

10. Rid to the Mill. Mr. Christian and some of his scholars went away this afternoon. Mrs. W—n and Mrs. B[ushrod] went to B[elvoir].

11. The rest of the Scholars went away after breakfast. Mrs. Washn. and Mr. W. Washington came this afternoon. Mr. Semple who came last Night, went away after Bt. I rid to the Mill, etca. before and after Dinner.

12. At home all day. Mr. Stedlar here. Mr. and Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Bushrod went to Colchester and returnd in the Afternn.

13. Went to Church with all the Compy. here. Dind at Belvoir and returnd in the afternoon.

14. Rid to Muddy hole to my Ditchers and the Mill. Mr. Washington, wife and child, and Mrs. Bushrod, etca. went away.

15. Rid to the Ditchers and Mill before Dinner. At home afterwards.

16. Rid by Muddy hole, to the Mill and to the Ditchers, and came home by Posey's.

17. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers again.

18. Did the same. Returnd to Dinner with Mr. Ross found Mr. Ramsay there. Went in the afternoon to McCarty's Sale of Posey's Effects. He and Mr. Ramsay returnd with me and lodgd

19. Set of for Williamsburg.[1] Dind at Dumfries. Called

[1] In 1770, Washington's expense account acknowledges, June 21st, receipt of

at my Mother's and lodgd at Colo. Lewis's in Fredericksbg.

20. Breakfasted at Mr. Boucher's. Dind at Coleman's [1] and lodgd at Todd's bridge.[2]

21. Breakfasted at King Wm. Ct. House, and dind and lodgd at Eltham.

22. Reached Williamsburg [3] to Breakfast and dined at the Club at Mrs. Campb[el]l; and supped at the Raleigh.

23. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's, and spent the Evening in my own Room.

24. Dined at the Treasurer's and spent the Evening in my own Room [4]

25. Dined at the Palace and attended a Committee of the Association at Hayes'. Spent the Eveng. there.

26. Took a Snack at Mrs. Dawson's and went up to Eltham in the afternn.

27. At Eltham all day.

28. Returnd to Williamsburg by 9 Oclock. Dined at the Speaker's and attended a Committee of the associn. at Hayes till 11 Oclock.

his Burgess pay, £60.15, for thirty-seven days' attendance in May and June, with ten days' traveling expenses.

[1] About thirty miles south of Fredericksburg.

[2] 'By Ferry at Ruffins 3/.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] The Burgesses convened May 21st.

[4] 'By 4 Play Tickets 30/ Club at Hay's 5/' (*Ledger A.*) The diary makes no mention of having used these tickets.

29. Dined at Mrs. Dawson's and spent the Evening in my own Room.

30. Dined at the Club and spent the Eveng. in my own Room.

31. Dined at the attorney's, and attended a Committee of the association at Hayes till one Oclock.

[MAY]

Remarks and Occurs.

1*st.* John Harvey went to Ditchg. on my Mill Race at 1/3 pr. Rod.

2. The Mason's went to laying Stone in the walls of the water Pit (dry stone).

Mr. Fleming's[1] ship Carpenter finishd his work here, and returnd home havg. been employd 31¼ days.

Went to Flatting Sand, &ca. round to the Mill. Carrd. a Load of Sand this day.

3. Thomas Emmerson set into ditchg. on my Mill Race on the same terms as above, that is, 1/3 pr. Rod, and finding himself.[2]

4. Began to flat Stone round, as also to carry wood round for burning Lyme.

William Crook began to work on my Mill Race on the terms above mentioned.

5. Richard Talbot, one of Mr. Ball's hands, was absent from work. John Harvey was also absent from his ditching.

[1] Thomas Fleming, shipbuilder of Alexandria. His carpenter was paid twelve shillings for repair work on Washington's schooner.

[2] Furnishing his own subsistence.

Finished Planting Corn, at Doeg Run Plantation this day — viz the 5th.

Richard Talbot was not at work, but went up to Alexandria.

7. Got the Battoe, and the two Boats round to the Mill with Stone William Crook nor Thoms. Emmeron were at work on the Mill Race to day.

8. Neither of the above Person's were at work on the Race to day. But Abel Cellicoe and one of his Sons set in to ditching on the Race.

Finished Planting of Corn in the Neck this day.

Got two Boats load of Lime wood and one of stone to the Mill, but the Battoe was stop'd by Wind.

9. dischargd Cleveland's Waggon. Ball and his People went about 12 oclock to Framing the Mill Work.

10. Mr. Christian went away this afternoon. I rid to the Mill.

11. Eight hands were at work upon my Mill Race to day.

12. Seven hands were at work this day upon my Mill Race.

14. Ten or Eleven hands were at work to day.

15. About 10 hands at work to day in the Race.

16. Jonathan Palmer and his Family movd to Posey's to live. Abt. 7 hands at work to day.

17. 10 hands at work to day. The House frame and Mill

beam were put up to day. Began also to raise Scaffolds for the Masons this day.

18. Mr. Ball and his People went into the Woods again to get Scantling to carry on his work, there not being sufft. for that purpose.

19. Set of for Williamsburg to the Assembly.

[JUNE]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Dined at the Club at Mrs. Campbell's (Williamsburg) and attended a Meeting of the Association at the Capitol at 6 Oclock, and contd. there till Eleven oclock.

2. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening in my own Room.

3. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening in my own Room.

4. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening at the Councill's Ball at the Capitol.[1]

5. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening in my own Room.

6. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening in my own Room.

7. Dined with the Council and spent the Evening in my own Room.

[1] Ledger A notes, on June 4th, 'By Expences at West Point 5/,' but from the diary it would seem that Washington did not leave Williamsburg.

8. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

9. Had a cold Cut at Mrs. Campbell's and went up to Eltham in the afternoon.

10. Dined at Eltham and in the afternoon went to see Mrs. Dandridge and returnd to Eltham again.

11. Went over to Colo. Thos. Moore's Sale[1] and purchasd two Negroes, to wit Frank and James, and returnd to Eltham again at Night.

12. Came to Williamsburg to Breakfast. Dined at the Club and spent the Evening in my own Room.

13. Dined at the Club and Spent the Evening in my own Room.

14. Dined at the Speaker's and went to Bed by 8 Oclock.

15. Dined at the Treasurer's and went to a meeting of the Association at which till 11 Oclock, then wt. to Bed.[2]

[1] In King William County.

[2] The difficulty in planning an Association that would meet the approval of the majority is rather obvious from Washington's notes. The old Association was not generally adhered to, and, while the need of a new one that would hold was evident, enthusiasm waned wherever the restrictions pressed heavily. A new agreement was finally reached and published June 22d. Washington wrote to George William Fairfax respecting it, June 27th: 'A new Association is formed much upon the old plan, but more relaxed, to which the merchants then in town acceded. Committees in each County are to be chosen to attend to the importations and see if our agreements cannot be more strictly adhered to.' Several copies of this 'Association,' with an added agreement in Washington's handwriting, are in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress. They bear different manuscript signatures of various inhabitants of Fairfax County. See note to entry for June 22d, *post*.

16. Dined at the Club at Mrs. Campbell's and went to the Play in the Evening.[1]

17. Went to Church in the Forenoon, and from thence to Colo. Burwell's, where I dind and lodgd.

18. Came into Williamsburg in the morning. Dined at the Club and went to the Play in the afternoon.[2]

19. Dined at the Club and went to the Play.[3]

20. Dined at the President's and went to the Play afterwards.[4]

21. Dined at the Club at Mrs. Campbell's at 8 Oclock and went to Bed directly after.

22. Dined at the Club and went to the Play,[5] after meeting the Associates at the Capitol.[6]

[1] 'Tickets to Play &ca 15/6.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] There is no entry of purchase of play tickets for this date.

[3] June 19. 'By Play Ticket 7/6.' (*Ledger A.*)

[4] June 20. 'By Play Tickets £1.0.0.' (*Ledger A.*)

[5] In his accounts, Washington charges this play ticket expense (£2) on June 23d.

[6] The new Non-Importation Association was published June 22d. It bore the printed names of those Burgesses and merchants who formulated and agreed to it. Copies were given to prominent gentlemen in each county to be circulated for signatures in agreement. The Association and names of the Williamsburg signers were printed in small type at the top of large sheets, leaving ample space for many signatures below the printing. Washington added the following agreement in his own handwriting to each of the sheets he circulated through Fairfax County: 'The Subscribers Inhabitants of the County of Fairfax in the Colony of Virginia having duly considered the above Agreement & Association & being well convinced of the Utility & real necessity of the Measures therein recommended to the Publick Attention (at this alarming and critical juncture) do sincerely and cordially accede thereto; and do hereby voluntarily and faithfully each and every person for himself upon his word and honour agree and promise that he will strictly and firmly adhere to and abide by every Article & Resolution therein containd according to the true Intent & meaning thereof. —' Six of these agreements bearing signatures of various Fairfax County inhabitants have

23. Dined at Mrs. Campbell's and set off homewards after it,[1] reaching Colo. Bassett's.

24. Dined at Todd's bridge and lodged at Hubbard's.

25. Breakfasted at the Bolling green,[2] dined at Colo. Lewis's, and lodgd at my Mother's.[3]

26. Breakfasted at my Mother's and dined at home before three Oclock.

27. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill before Dinner, and to where my People were cuttg. Hay at the upper Meadow.

28. Rid into the Neck between breakfast and Dinner. Mr. Addison[4] and Mr. Boucher who came yesterday in the afternoon went away to day after Breakfast.[5]

29. Dined at Belvoir. Went on Board the Boston frigate[6] to Drink Tea, and returnd in the afternoon.

30. Went into the Neck between breakfast and Dinner.

survived and are in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress. A badly mutilated copy signed by other Virginians is among the papers of Thomas Jefferson in the same Library.

[1] 'By Mrs. Campbell's Acct. in full £16.13.4.' (*Ledger A.*) The Burgesses adjourned June 28th, but, as no more important business remained to be finished after June 23d, Washington came away. He characterized the session as one in which little public business was transacted, the time being taken up, mainly, with private bills.

[2] Bolling or Bowling Green, the county seat of Caroline County. 'By Ditto [Expences] at Hubbards 4/3 Do. at Colemans 2/6.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] 'Mrs. Washington 7/.' (*Ledger A.*)

[4] Colonel John Addison, built Oxon Hall, in Maryland, opposite Alexandria. He married Rachel, the daughter of Daniel Dulany.

[5] 'By the Revd. Mr. Boucher £75.' This was for Jacky Custis's tuition and expenses.

[6] A frigate of the British Navy. It anchored in the Potomac off 'Belvoir.'

[JULY]

Where & how my time is spent.

1*st.* At home. Sir Thomas Adams,[1] the two Colo. Fairfax's and Mr. Waker, a Midshipman, dined here.

2. Went into my Wheat field before dinnr. Mr. Davis a Midshipman dined here.

3. One of the Boston's Midshipman breakfasted here. Between breakfast and Dinner I went into my Harvest field.

4. Went into my Harvest field between breakfast and Dinner

5. Sir Thomas Adams and Mr. Glasford, his first Lieutt., Breakfasted here. Sir Thos. returnd after it; but Mr. Glasford dined here, as did the 2d. Lieutt. Mr. Sartell, Mr. Johnston of Marines, Mr. Norris and Mr. Richmore, two Midshipmen.

6. At home all day. Mr. Stedlar came to dinner. Mr. Wallace, Purser to the Boston, came in the afternoon and purchased and killed my Bull [2] — the 4 quarters of which weighed 710 lbs. Nett.

7. At home all day. In the afternoon Mr. Edward Smith [3] came.

8. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner. Mr.

[1] Captain of H.M.S. *Boston*.

[2] 'To Ditto [cash] recd. from the Boston's Purser for my Bull @ 20/ £7.2.0.' (*Ledger A.*)

[3] Clerk to Herbert & Co., who had contracted for the catch of fish at Washington's fishery. (*Toner.*)

Smith went to Colo. Fairfax's and returnd to Dinner, and Mr. Stedlar went away after Breakft.

9. Warm with but little Wind and that Southwardly. Rid to Belvoir to Breakfast in order to take leave of Sir Thomas Adams and Colo. R. Fairfax, who was going to the Springs. Returnd by the Mill, Doeg Run, and Muddy hole Plantations. [Home] to Dinr.

10. Clear and pleasant. In the afternoon rid to the Harvest field at Muddy hole. On my return found Mr. Montgomerie and Sally Carlyle here.

11. Mr. Montgomerie went away about 11 Oclock. Mr. Christian and all his Scholars, except Miss French,[1] came here to Dancing; also Miss Bronaugh.[2]

12. Rid to my Harvest field at Muddy hole. Upon my return to Dinner found Mrs. Ambler [3] and her daughter here, who dind and went away afterwards.

13. Mr. Christian and all his Scholars except Peggy Massey [4] went away. I rid to the Harvest field at M[uddy] hole.

[1] Miss Elizabeth French, daughter of Daniel French.

[2] Elizabeth Bronaugh? or her sister, who married Martin Cockburn. (*Toner.*)

[3] This was Mary Cary, widow since 1767 of Edward Ambler, of Jamestown Island, and a younger sister of Mrs. George William Fairfax. Washington first met her at 'Belvoir' in 1748, when he described her to his 'dear friend Robin,' which letter is among the miscellany in the diary of 1748 and is printed in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, 1, 7. In consequence of this testimony to her agreeability, she has been labeled in American history as 'Washington's first sweetheart.' The tradition recorded by Bishop Meade (*Old Churches*, 1, 108), on the authority of a romantic Ambler family document, of Washington's salutation of her as he rode through Williamsburg at the head of his victorious army after Yorktown and of her fainting, overcome by youthful memories, is, unfortunately, contradicted by the evidence of her tombstone at Jamestown that she had died in the spring preceding the surrender.

[4] Daughter of the Reverend Lee Massey.

14. Rid to my Harvest People at the Mill in the forenoon, and in the aftern. likewise, with Mrs. W., Peggy Massey and P[atcy.]

15. At home all day alone, except Miss Massey being here.

16. Went to Alexandria [1] to Court and returnd again in the afternoon.

17. At home all day. Major Wagener dined here and went away in the afternn.

18. Rid to Harvest People at Doeg Run and returnd to Dinner.

19. At home all day — alone, except P[eggy] M[assey.]

20. Was riding out to the Mill, etca., and met an Augusta Man with Horses, with whom I returnd and purchasd four.[2]

21. At home alone.

22. At home all day alone, except that Miss Massey still here, and Mr. Semple came just after we had dind and went away after dinner was got for him.

23. Miss Massey went away, and in the Evening Mr. Boucher, Majr. Taylor, and Jackey Custis came here.

24. Colo. Fairfax and Lady and Mrs. Ambler dined here

[1] 'By Mr. Wm. Adam Sheriff of ye upper Parish £1.1.0' 'By Aug. Darrell Sheriff of ye lowr. Parish £3.15.6.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] 'By David McCrae for 2 Horses £21.4.0 Saml. McChisney for 2 Do. 13.10.—' (*Ledger A.*)

with the Gentlemen that came yesterday — and went away after.

25. Mr. Boucher and Major Taylor went away after Breakfast. Mr. Alexander (Robt.) who lodged here last Night and went over to give Notice to his Tenant of Mr. Marshall's want of part of his Tenement, dined here and went home afterwards.

26. Jackey Custis went away after Breakfast to Annapolis to School.

27. Went with Mrs. Washington and Patcy Custis to Belvoir to Dinner and returnd in the afternoon.

28. Went up to Alexandria with the Association Papers.[1] Dined at Mr. Ramsay's, calld at Mr. Jno. West's, and returnd home in the Evening.

29. Captn. Ingles, and his Master, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. John West dind here — all of whom returnd after [sic] afterwards.

30. After an Early Dinner (which Mr. Peake took with us,) we set of for Fredericksburg, that is, Mrs. Washington, P. Custis and my self. Reachd Mr. Lawson's.

31. Got to my Mother's to Dinner and staid there all Night.

[JULY]

Remarks and Occurans.

2. Prosecuting my Wheat Harvest which I began on Saturday last in the Neck.

[1] To obtain signatures to the Association.

5. Stately, A Hound Bitch was lind by Jowler.

6. She was again lined by the same Dog.
I killed and sold my English Bull to the Boston's Crew at 20/ pr. Ct.; his 4 Quarters weighed 711 lbs. Nett.

10. About 10 Oclock finished Cutting and Securing my Wheat in the Neck, and about Eleven began the field at Muddy hole.

13. Finished cutting and Securing my Wheat at Muddy hole.

14. Began my Harvest at the Mill but did not quite finish the Field on the other side by the New Mill.

17. Finished my Harvest at the Mill about 10 or 11 Oclock, and began to cut the Wheat at Doeg Run Abt. 12 Oclock.

20. Compleated my Wheat Harvest altogether, and exceeding bad I am apprehensive it will turn out, owing I am of opinion to the frequent Rains in the Month of June. The Heads containd but few grains, the Grain but little flower, being for the most part perishd and Mill dewed. The frequent Rains had, by beating down the straw been the occasion of much loss in the Field both by shattering and unclean cutting; and to compleat all, I was too late in beginning my Harvest by 3 or 4 days, as it ought, where a Harvest is to continue 3 Weeks, to be begun always before it is ripe, as the loss in the shrinkage if Green Wheat is not equal to that of its shattering and various other accidents when it is over-ripe and the straw falling.

23. Began to Cut my Meadw. at the Mill.

31*st*. finished Do.
Also laid the 2d Floor of my Mill.

[AUGUST]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Dined at my Mother's. Went over to Fredericksburg afterwards and returnd in the Evening back again.

2. Met the Officers of the first Virga. Troops at Captn. Weeden's, where we dined and did not finish till abt. Sun set.[1] Mrs. Washington and Patcy dind at Colo. Lewis's where we lodgd.

3. Dined at my Brother Charles's. Spent the Evening there, and lodgd at Colo. Lewis's.

4. Dined at the Barbicue with a great deal of other Company, and stayd there till Sunset.

[1] The meeting was held for the purpose of settling the details of obtaining possession of the lands granted to the officers of the First Virginia Regiment, through Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation for their services in the French and Indian War. They appointed Washington their agent and attorney, and it was largely due to his energy and efforts that these deserving men finally obtained their land. The Revolutionary War was close at hand before the matter was entirely settled. As late as 1798, Washington was asked about it. On April 25th of that year he wrote to Edward Graham: 'The burthen of obtaining the Grants for 200,000 acres of land under Gov. Dinwiddie's Proclamation of 1754 and indeed the greater part of the expence attending this business from the first move that was made therein until the issuing of the Patents, were thrown upon me nor has the latter been reimbursed to this day. It was with great difficulty after Peace was established in the year 1763, that I could obtain a recognition of the above proclamation and then instead of assigning a district, and permitting every Claimant to locate his own quantum therein, we were compelled to take the *whole* quantity in twenty surveys, or rather not allowed to extend that number. This it was that occasioned so many names to be together in the same Patent and has caused the difficulties which have since occurred to the Patentees, to obtain their respective quantities. The same happened to myself; but rather than be at the trouble and expense of dividing with others I bought and exchanged until I got entire tracts to myself. After the Patents were granted and the Land thereby secured, I concerned myself no further with any part thereof excepting my own.' While in Fredericksburg at this time, Washington purchased a tent and a marquee from Captain Weedon for £6.

5. Went to Church (in Fredg.) and dind with Colo. Lewis.

6. Dined with Mr. James Mercer.[1]

7. Dined at Colo. Lewis's; Colo. Dangerfield and Lady, and Miss Boucher comg. there to see us.

8. Dined at Colo. Lewis's.

9. Breakfasted at my Mother's, dined at Dumfries, and came home by Night.

10. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

11. Rid into the Neck.

12. Rid to Belvoir after Dinner to see Sir Thos. Adams, who was sick there.

13. Rid to Muddy hole, Doeg Run, and the Mill.

14. At home all day writing Invoices and Letters.[2]

15. Rid to the Mill, by the Ferry and returnd to Dinner. Miss Betty Dalton came here.

16. Rid to the Mill and to the Ditchers.

[1] Attorney, of Fredericksburg, brother of Colonel George Mercer and son of Colonel John Mercer.

[2] These invoices and letter were to Robert Cary & Co., London. To each invoice was appended a list of additional articles to be sent only in case the Parliament Acts, imposing taxes to raise revenue in America, were totally repealed before the goods were shipped; a fair indication of the state of mind in the Colonies, that could not believe Parliament meant to insist on such injustice. Washington informed Cary in his letter that he wished the non-importation agreement 'ten times as strict.'

17. At home all day.

18. Rid to the Mill, Ditchers, Doeg run, and Muddy hole.

19. Went to Pohick Church. Calld in our way at Belvoir to take leave of Sir Thos. Returnd to Dinner.

20. Went up to Alexandria to Court. Returnd in the Evening with Jackey Custis and Mr. Magowan.

21. Went up to Court again and returnd in the afternoon. Found Mr. Beal[1] here along with Mr. Magowan.

22. Mr. Beal went away after Breakfast. I continued at home all day.

23. I went up to Alexandria calling by Mr. Jno. West's going and coming. Returnd again at Night with Mr. B. Fairfax.

24. Went out a huntg, with Mr. Fairfax. Killd a young fox without running him and returnd to Dinner. Doctr. Rumney dined here and lodged.

25. Mr. Fairfax, Doctr. Rumney, Mr. Magowan, and Jacky Custis, all went away after Breakfast. I rid into the Neck and to Muddy hole.

26. At home all day — alone.

27. Went by my Mill and Doeg Run to Colchester, there to settle a dispute betwn. Doctr. Ross and Company and Mr. Semple.[2]

[1] Toner thinks, William D. Beall, of Prince George County, Maryland.
[2] In the capacity of arbitrator or referee.

28. At Colchester all day — upon the same business.

29. Still at Colchester upon this affair. Colo. Lewis, my Sister and Brothr. Chas., passd this in their way to Mount Vernon.

30. Still at Colchester upon the business before mentioned.

31. At the same place and on the same business.

AUG[US]T

Remarks and Occurrances.

1. Began to Sow Wheat at Muddy hole — the Ground Grassy and in bad order.

Began to Sow Ditto at Doeg Run Quarter, where the Ground was exceeding foul, Grassy, and hard.

8. Began to Sow Wheat in the Neck, in that cut upon the Creek above Carneys Gut. The Ground here was tolerably clean and in Good Order, the Grass and Weeds being Choped over.

10 *and* 11*th.* I rid over all my Corn Ground, as well that in the Neck as those at Muddy hole and Doeg Run, and was surprizd to see how much it had fired; especially in Land that was any thing Stiff and poor. It was observable also. that in most of these places there appeard no shoots upon the Stalks, and upon the whole the prospect exceedingly Shocking. It is further to be observd, that the Corn, in flat stiff places was fired even where it had not been lately work'd, but more so where it was. Why Corn in so short a drought shoud fire so badly is difficult to Acct. for, unless it is owing to the great and frequent Rains which

fell all the first part of the year, and at the same time that it made the Corn Luxurient and exceeding tender, baked the Ground hard and prevented the frequent and constant working of it that it ought to have had.

Nothing appears more clearly from the experience of this year than that a wet June is very injurious to both Corn and Wheat. The former is run too much into Stalk by it, made tender and unable to stand the droughts which follow after, and besides this is generally overcome with grass and Weeds; the Latter (that is Wheat) by being injurd in the blossom produces poor perished grain and but little of it, the head being subject to the spot and other defects.

My Corn this year has not been so well cultivated as it ought, wch. partly has been owing to two causes: first, the exceeding wet weather all the Month of June prevented my Plows from working constantly where the Land was level; and next, my force of Horses was rather inadequate to the Task and I think more than 35 or 40 Acres of Corn Land (where it is any thing stiff) ought not to be allotted to a plow and two middling good Horses. Finishd Sowg. the Cut upon the Creek above Carney's Gut. Finished the Remainder of that Cut on the other side the Gut.

17. Finished the Cut at Doeg Run abt. John Gist's Houses.

25. I examind my Corn fields and perceivd that the late Rains had made a great alteration for the better. Many Stalks were putting out entire new Shoots with young and tender Silk; but as the Tassels of most all the Corn (especially in that field in the Neck) was entirely dry, the question is whether the corn for want of the Farina will ever fill. This is a matter worthy of attention and shoud be observd accordingly.

29. The Rain that Fell last Night made the Ground too Wet for Plowing.

[SEPTEMBER]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Returnd from the Arbitration at Colchester. In the Evening my Brothr. Sam and his wife and children came hither from Fredericksburg in their way to Frederick.

2. At home all day with the Company before mentioned. Mr. Adam's Miller came here and went to see my Mill.

3. Went in the Evening a fishing with my Brothers Saml. and Charles.

4. Rid to my Mill and back to Dinner.

5. At Home all day playing cards.

6. Rid to the Mill with Colo. Lewis, &ca. Returnd to Dinner.

7. Went a fishing into the Mouth of Doegs Creek.

8. A Fishing along towards Sheridine Point.[1] Dined upon the Point.

9. Colo. Lewis, my Sister and Brother Charles went away. At Home all day.

10. My Brothr. Saml. and self rid to the Mill and Back to Dinner.

[1] The north cape of Little Hunting Creek, about opposite Fort Washington, on the Potomac.

11. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers again.

12. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers. Mr. Christian and his Scholars came here to Dancing.

13. Rid to the Mill, Ditchers and Morris', and Muddy hole; also the Mill in the afternoon. Mr. Christian went away this afternoon.

14. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers in the forenoon with my Brother; in the afternoon went a fishing.

15. Rid to Alexandria with my Brothr. and returnd to Dinner.

16. At home all day. My Brothr. Sam and his Wife set of in my Chariot for his House in Frederick. Mr. Renney came here this Afternoon.

17. Went up to Court, and returnd in the Evening with Mr. Nash [1] and Mr. Peachy.[2]

18. Mr. Renney and Jacky Custis set out for Annapolis. Mr. Nash, etca., went home, and I to Court again and returnd in the afternoon.[3]

19. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers, and came home to Dinner.

20. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers again, and went by Posey's. Doctr. Rumney came.

[1] Robert Nash, Alexandria schoolmaster. (*Toner.*)
[2] William Peachy, probably of Richmond County. (*Toner.*)
[3] Mrs. Washington accompanied him. 'By Mrs. Washington — expended in Alexa. £1.17.' (*Ledger A.*)

21. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers. Doctr. Rumney went away.

22. Rid to my Mill in the forenoon and Afternoon. James McCarmack [1] came here last Night and returnd to day.

23. At Home all day. Mr. Campbell and Captn. Sanford [2] dind here.

24. At home all day alone.

25. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers in the forenoon.

26. Rid by Posey's and to the Mill and Ditchers again.

27. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers in the Afternoon. Doctr. Rumney came here.

28. Rid to the Mill and Ditchers. Doctr. Rumney here Sick.

29. At Home all day. Doctr. Rumney still here Sick.

30. At home all day. Mr. W[arner] Washington came in the Evening. Doctr. Rumney still here.

SEPT[EMBE]R

Remarks and Occurs.

4*th.* got on the 2d Floor (or rather the last Floor, the Walls being at their Height) of my Mill.

[1] Lived on the Bullskin, next to Washington's land in Berkeley County. (*Toner.*)

[2] Captain Lawrence Sanford, a sea-captain.

4*th*. The Hound Bitch Stately brought 7 Puppies, viz, 2 dogs and 5 Bitches, 1 of the former dead; remaing. 1 dog and 5 Bitches.

13. Sett 3 Negroe Men, to wit, Harry, George and Frank, to work upon my Mill Race.

14. Two more men came to work on it from the Neck — to wit, Neptune and George.

14. Morris at Doeg Run began to sow his third Cut of Wheat.

20. Finishd Sowing Wheat in the Neck. Also at Muddy hole. This day also Dominicus Gubner, a Dutch Smith, set into work at the Rate of £32 pr. Ann., he to be found when at work here, and to have the Plantn. on which John Crook livd (to settle his Family at) and work in any thing he pleases, Rent free.[1]

22. Receivd from Edwd. Snickers the Mill stones[2] he was to get for [me] which were thinner by two Inchs. than what were bespoke.

OCTOBER

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Rid to my Mill and the Ditchers with Mr. Warnr. Washington. Colo. Fairfax dind here; the Doctr. (Rumney) still here. Mr. Carr[3] came in the Eveng.

[1] This agreement, dated September 20, 1770, in Washington's handwriting, and signed by both Gubner and himself, is in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

[2] Washington paid Snickers £20 for these stones November 30, this year, when he passed Snickers' place on his return from his journey to the Ohio.

[3] Of Maryland?

2. At home all day. John Savage,[1] formerly a Lieutt. in the Virga. Service, and one Wm. Carnes came here to enter their claim to a share in the 200,000 Acres of Land. Wr. Washington and Doctr. Rumney here.

3. At home all day. Mr. Washington, Mr. Carr, Savage, and Carnes went away after Breakfast. The Doctr. still here.

4. In the afternoon Doctr. Rumney went away and Doctr. Craik came.

5. Set out in Company with Doctr. Craik for the Settlement on Redstone,[2] etca. Dind at Mr. Bryan Fairfax's and lodged at Leesburg.[3]

6. Bated at Old Codley's.[4] Dind and lodgd at my Brother Sam's.

7. Dind at Rinkers and lodgd at Saml Pritchard's.[5]

8. Vale. Crawford joind us, and he and I went to Colo.

[1] 'Octr. 9 To Cash of Lt. Jno. Savage his quota of advance towards Surveying ye Soldiers Lands £6.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Redstone Creek empties into the Monongahela River about thirty-seven miles above Pittsburgh. This journey is characterized by Washington as his trip to the Ohio. It was undertaken to locate definitely the lands granted the Virginia officers for their services in the French and Indian War. Washington managed the business for his brother officers, and, though this journey was undertaken in their interest, his well-known weakness for acquiring good land was, undoubtedly, a large factor in the matter.

[3] 'By Expences in a Journey to the Ohio — viz at Mass's Ordy. 3*s.* 6*d.* Leesburg 10*s.*' (*Ledger A.*)

[4] Codley, or Caudley, kept a roadhouse at the top of Williams' Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, later known as Snickers' Gap and now as Bluemont. 'Expences at Caudley's 6*s.* at Pugh's 6*s.*' (*Ledger A.*)

[5] Jasper Rinker, on the Winchester-Cumberland road. Pritchard's was on the Cacapon River, about forty-two miles from Samuel Washington's place. Washington's accounts show the expenses at Cacapehon were three shillings.

Cresap's[1] leaving the Doctr. at Pritchard's with my boy Billy,[2] who was taken sick.

9. Went from Colo. Cresap's to Romney,[3] where in the afternoon the Doctr. and my Servant and Baggage arrivd.

10. Bought two Horses[4] and sent one of my Servants (Giles) home with those I rid up. Proceeded on our journey and lodgd at one Wise (now Turner's) Mill.[5]

11. Set out about 11 Oclock and arrivd at one Gillam's[6] on George Creek, 10½ Miles from the North Branch and same distt. from Ft. C.[7]

12. Started from Gillam's between Sun rising and Day Break, and arrivd at the Great crossing of Yaugha.[8] about Sunset or before.

13. Left this place early in the Morning and arrivd at

[1] Colonel Thomas Cresap's, a few miles above the junction of the North and South Branches of the Potomac River, on the Maryland side; his place was known as 'Cresap's' and also as 'Old Town.' Colonel Thomas was one of the outstanding figures of American frontiersmen. He was a member of the old or original Ohio Company and was influential among the Indians. He is reported to have lived to be one hundred and five years old.

[2] 'Billy,' otherwise known as William Lee, had been purchased from the Lee family. He accompanied Washington throughout the Revolutionary War and is, probably, the best known of Washington's slaves.

[3] County seat of Hampshire County.

[4] One horse was a bay, purchased from a Mr. Parsons for £16 and the other a gray, purchased from a Mr. John(?) Nevil for £13.10.

[5] On Patterson's Creek.

[6] Joseph Gillam. George's Creek was ten and a half miles from the North Branch of the Potomac River. Washington's expense accounts note the purchase of four bearskins on October 11th for £1.

[7] Fort Cumberland, at junction of Will's Creek and the North Branch of the Potomac, now the town of Cumberland, Maryland.

[8] The Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny River. There is an expense entry in Washington's accounts of ten pence expended at Little Meadows on October 12th.

Captn. Crawford's (known by the name of Stewart's crossing)[1] abt. ½ after four Oclock.

14. At Captn. Crawford's all day.

15. Rid to see the Land he got for me and my Brother's.[2]

16. At Captn. Crawford's till the Evening, then went to Mr. John Stephenson's.[3]

17. Arrivd at Fort,[4] dining at one Widow Miers at Turtle Creek.[5]

18. Dined in the Fort at the Officers Club.

19. Dined at Colo. Croghan's[6] abt. 4 Miles from Pittsburg, and returnd.

20. Set out for the Big Kanhawa with Dr. Craik, Captn. Crawford and others.[7] Incampd abt. 14 Miles off.

[1] Stewart's Crossing on the Youghiogheny is now Connellsville, sixty-three miles from Pittsburgh. Captain William Crawford's cabin was on the left bank, just below what is now the town.

[2] Captain William Crawford was Washington's agent in the Ohio land business; both he and his brother Valentine traveled and examined the country and selected land areas for Washington.

[3] Half-brother to Captain William Crawford. (*Toner.*)

[4] Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, formerly the old French Fort Duquesne.

[5] Miers, often spelled Myers. Turtle Creek, in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, empties into the Monongahela River, about twelve miles above Fort Pitt.

[6] Colonel George Croghan, Indian Agent, settled near Harrisburg about 1746; became Indian Agent for Pennsylvania and a deputy under Sir William Johnson, who sent him to England to explain to the Ministry the affair of the French and Indian boundary controversy. In 1765 he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Illinois Indians to whom he had gone on a friendly mission. He, nevertheless, held the Indians back from the war-path and the next year settled about four miles above Fort Pitt, on the left bank of the Allegheny. His influence with the savages was great, and he held them friendly to the British interests until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

[7] This was the real commencement of the Ohio journey. Under the October

21. Got abt. 32 Miles further and Incampd abt. 3 Miles below little Bever Ck.[1]

22. Reachd the Mingo Town,[2] abt. 29 Miles by Computation.

23. Stayd at this place till One Clock in the Afternoon, and padled abt. 12 Miles down the River and Incampd.

24. We reachd the Mouth of a Creek calld Fox Grape vine Creek[3] (10 Miles up which is a Town of Delawares calld Franks Town) abt. 3 Oclock in the Afternoon, distant from our last Camp abt. 26 Miles.

25. Incampd in the long reach[4] abt. 30 Miles from our last lodge according to my Computation.

26. Incampd at the Mouth of a Creek about 4 Miles above the Mouth of Muskingham,[5] distant abt. 32 Miles.

27. Incampd at the Mouth of great Hockhocking,[6] distant from our last Incampment abt. 32 Miles.

20th entry in 'Remarks and Occurs,' in October, Washington tells who the others were.

The Big or Great Kanawha flows through Virginia and the southern part of West Virginia in a northwesterly direction and empties into the Ohio River at Point Pleasant.

[1] In Pennsylvania; flows into the Ohio from the North.

[2] Mingo Town in Ohio, three miles below Steubenville.

[3] Flows in from Ohio on the north. Washington calls this 'Fox Grape Vine Creek' and also 'Sculp' or 'Buffalo Creek.'

[4] The Long Reach was a straight course in the usually crooked Ohio River, of from eighteen to twenty miles, which forms the eastern boundary of Monroe County, Ohio.

[5] The Muskingum River flows south through the eastern half of Ohio and empties into the Ohio River at what is now Marietta.

[6] Sometimes called the 'Great Hockhocking' or 'Big Hockhocking'; flows south through Ohio and empties into the Ohio River almost at the boundary line of Athens and Meigs Counties, Ohio.

28. Meeting with Kiashuta[1] and other Indian Hunters we proceeded only 10 Miles to day, and Incampd below the Mouth of a Ck. on the West the name wch. I know not.

29. Went round what is calld the Great Bent[2] and Campd two Miles below it, distant from our last Incampment abt. 29 Miles.

30. Incampd Early just by the old Shawna Town,[3] distant from our last no more than 15 Miles.

31. Went out a Hunting and met the Canoe at the Mouth of the Kanhawa,[4] distant only 5 Miles, makg. the whole distance from Fort Pitt accordg. to my Acct. 266 Miles.

[OCTOBER]

Remarks and Occurs.

5th. Began a journey to the Ohio in Company with Doctr. Craik, his Servant, and two of mine with a lead Horse with Baggage. Dind at Towlston and lodgd at Leesburg distant from Mount Vernon abt. 45 Miles. Here my Portmanteau horse faild in his Stomach.

6. Fed our Horses on the Top of the Ridge at one Codleys and arrivd at my Brother Samls. on Worthington's Marsh[5] a little after they had dind, the distance being about 30. Miles; from hence I dispatchd a Messenger to

[1] Kiashuta, an Indian who had accompanied Washington part of the way from Logs Town to Fort Le Bœuf in 1753.

[2] The Great Bend of the Ohio River where it borders Meigs County.

[3] The Old Shawnee Town was about five miles above Point Pleasant.

[4] Washington landed on the West Virginia side of the Ohio and circled around to the mouth of the Kanawha.

[5] In the Shenandoah Valley. Robert Worthington was one of the early settlers in the Valley. Samuel Washington's place, 'Harewood,' was next to Worthington's.

Colo. Stephens apprising him of my arrival and Intended journey.

7. My Portmanteau Horse being unable to proceed, I left him at my Brother's and got one of his and proceeded by Jolliffs[1] and Jasper Rinkers to Saml. Pritchard's on Cacapehon;[2] distant according to Acct. 39 Miles; but by my Computation 42, thus reckond 15 to Jolliff's; 14 to Rinkers; and 13 to Pritchard's. At Rinkers which appears to be a cleanly House my boy was taken Sick but continued on to Pritchard's. Pritchard's is also a pretty good House, their being fine Pasturage, good fences, and Beds tolerably clean.

8. My Servant being unable to travel, I left him at Pritchard's with Doctr. Craik, and proceedd. my self with Vale. Crawford to Colo. Cresap's, in ordr. to learn from him (being just arrivd from England) the particulars of the Grant said to be lately sold to Walpole[3] and others, for a certain Tract of Country on the Ohio. The distance from Pritchard's to Cresap's according to Computation is 26 Miles, thus reckond; to the Fort at Henry Enochs[4] 8 Miles (road exceedg. bad) 12 to Cox's[5] at the Mouth of little Cacapehon, and 6 afterwards.

[1] William Jolliff. (*Toner.*)

[2] West Virginia rivers, called Great and Little Cacapehon. They flow northwest along the western side of Capon, or North Mountain, and empty into the Potomac.

[3] The Walpole Grant had its beginnings about 1763 and was a kindred scheme to that of the Ohio Company. It did not approach success until 1770, when Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton applied for a grant of land, on behalf of the company, which was to be used as a settlement tract and for trading with the Indians. A grant was made in 1772, but the Revolutionary War upset the calculations. The 200,000 acres granted to the Virginia officers and soldiers for their French and Indian War services, the placing of which was now occupying Washington's attention, seem to have been allowed out of the area petitioned for by Walpole and the others.

[4] Henry Enoch's stockaded cabin was on the Cacapehon, eight miles from Cresap's.

[5] Cox's fort at mouth of the Little Cacapon.

9. Went up to Rumney in order to buy work Horses, and meet Doctr. Craik and my Baggage; arrivd there abt. 12, distance 16 Miles. In the Afternoon Doctr. Craik and my Servt. (much amended) and the Baggage, arrivd from Pritchard's; said to be 28 Miles.

10. Having purchasd two Horses, and recoverd another which had been gone from me near 3 Years, I dispatchd my boy Giles with my two Riding Horses home, and proceeded on my journey; arriving at one Wise's (now Turner's) Mill about 22 Miles, it being Reckond Seven to the place where Cox's Fort formerly stood; 10 to one, Parker's[1] and five afterwards. The Road from the South Branch[2] to Patterson's Ck. is Hilly down the Ck. on which is good Land, Sloppy to Parker's, and from Parker's to Turner's Hilly again.

11. The Morning being wet and heavy we did not set of till 11 Oclock and arrivd that Night at one, Killam's[3] on a branch of George Ck. distant 10½ Measurd Miles from the North Branch of Potomack, where we crossd at the lower end of my Decd. Brother, Auge. Bottom, known by the name of Pendergrasses.[4] This Crossing is two Miles from the aforesaid Mill and the Road bad as it likewise is to Killam's, the Country being very Hilly and Stony.

From Killam's to Fort Cumberland is the same distance that it is to the Crossing above mentiond, and the Road from thence to Jolliff's by the old Town[5] much better.

[1] Near the head of Patterson's Creek which flows into the Potomac about twelve miles below Cumberland.

[2] Of the Potomac River.

[3] Joseph Killam or Gillam.

[4] Pendergrasses Settlement or Bottom, in Frederick County, was acquired by Augustine Washington, half-brother to George.

[5] Old Town, on the Potomac, nearly opposite the mouth of the South Branch, was where Colonel Thomas Cresap lived.

12. We left Killam's early in the Morning, breakfasted at the little meadows[1] 10 Miles of, and lodgd at the great Crossings[2] 20 Miles further, which we found a tolerable good days work.

The Country we traveld over to day was very Mountainous and stony, with but very little good Land, and that lying in Spots.

13. Set out about Sunrise, breakfasted at the Great Meadows[3] 13 miles of, and reachd Captn. Crawford's about 5 Oclock.

The Lands we travelld over to day till we had crossd the Laurel Hill[4] (except in small spots) was very mountainous and indifferent, but when we came down the Hill to the Plantation of Mr. Thos. Gist,[5] the Ld. appeard charming; that which lay level being as rich and black as any thing coud possibly be; the more Hilly kind, tho of a different complexion must be good, as well from the Crops it produces, as from the beautiful white Oaks that grows thereon, the white Oak in generl. indicates poor Land, yet this does not appear to be of that cold kind. The Land from Gists to Crawford's is very broken, tho not Mountainous; in Spots exceeding Rich, and in general free from Stone. Crawfords is very fine Land; lying on Yaughyaughgane[6] at a place commonly called Stewart's Crossing.

[1] Little Meadows was on the old Braddock road, about twenty-five miles east of the Great Meadows and separated from it by the Youghiogheny River and a ridge of mountains.

[2] The Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny was on the old Braddock road, on the main road to Fort Pitt.

[3] Great Meadows is on the eastern slope of Laurel Mountain, which is one of the most western ridges of the Alleghanies. It is the scene of Washington's fight and surrender to the French in 1754, at his hastily built Fort Necessity.

[4] Laurel Hill. See preceding note.

[5] Son of Christopher Gist.

[6] Youghiogheny (Yaughyaughgane) River rises in West Virginia, flows northwest through Maryland into Pennsylvania and joins the Monongahela about

Sunday 14th. At Captn. Crawford's all day. Went to see a Coal Mine[1] not far from his house on the Banks of the River; the Coal seemd to be of the very best kind, burning freely and abundance of it.

Monday 15th. Went to view some Land which Captn. Crawford had taken up for me near the Yaughyaughgane distant about 12 miles. This Tract which contains about 1600 Acres Includes some as fine Land as ever I saw, a great deal of Rich Meadow, and in general, is leveller than the Country about it. This Tract is well waterd, and has a valuable Mill Seat[2] (except that the Stream is rather too slight, and it is said not constant more than 7 or 8 months in the Year; but on acct. of the Fall, and other conveniences no place can exceed it).

In going to this Land I passd through two other Tracts which Captn. Crawford had taken up for my Brothers Saml. and John; that belonging to the former, was not so rich as some I had seen; but very valuable on acct. of its levelness and little Stone, the Soil and Timber being good; that of the latter had some Bottom Land upon sml. runs that was very good (tho narrow) the Hills very rich, but the Land in genl. broken. I intended to have visited the Land which Crawford had procurd for Lund Washington this day also, but time falling short, I was obligd to Postpone it making it in the Night before I got back to Crawfords, where I found Colo. Stephen.

The Lands which I passed over to day were generally Hilly, and the growth chiefly white Oak, but very good notwithstanding; and what is extraordinary, and contrary

fifteen miles above Pittsburgh. The name is an Indian word supposed to mean 'River that flows in the opposite direction.'

[1] Washington was thus one of the few Americans who first noticed the great Pennsylvania coal-fields. The vein was bituminous and the center of this coal-mining area is now Connellsville.

[2] Washington built a mill on this site five years later.

to the property of all other Lands I ever saw before, the Hills are the richest Land; the Soil upon the Sides and Summits of them, being as black as Coal and the Growth, Walnut, Cherry, Spice Bushes, etca.; the flats are not so rich; and a good deal more mixd with Stone.

Tuesday 16. At Captn. Crawford's till the Evening, when I went to Mr. John Stephenson (on my way to Pittsburg) and lodgd. This day was visited by one Mr. Ennis who had travelld down the little Kanhawa (almost) from the head to the Mouth, on which he says the Lands are broken, the bottoms neither very wide nor rich, but covd. with Beach; at the Mouth the Lands are good, and continue so up the River; and about Weeling[1] and Fishing Ck. is, according to his acct. a body of fine Land. I also saw a Son of Captn. John Hardens[2] who said he had been from the Mouth of little Kanhawa to the big, but his discription of the Lands seemd to be so vague and indeterminate, that it was much doubted whether he ever was there or not. He says however that at the Mouth of the Big Kanhawa there may be abt. 20 or 25,000 Acres of Land had in a Body that is good, that you are not above five or 6 Miles to the Hills, and that the Falls of the Kanhawa[3] are not above 10 Miles up it.

Wednesday 17. Doctr. Craik and myself with Captn. Crawford and others arrivd at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing 43½ Measurd Miles. In Riding this distance we pass over a great deal of exceeding fine Land (chiefly White Oak) especially from Sweisley Creek[4] to Turtle Creek,[5] but

[1] Wheeling Creek, West Virginia. The city of Wheeling is now located at the mouth of this creek.

[2] Of Frederick County, Virginia. (*Toner.*)

[3] In Fayette County, West Virginia, about thirty miles above Charleston.

[4] Sewicky (Sweisly) Creek flows through Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in a westerly direction and empties into the Youghiogheny River.

[5] Turtle Creek, in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, joins the Monongahela about twelve miles above Pittsburgh.

the whole broken; resembling (as I think all the Lands in this country does) the Loudoun Lands for Hills.

We lodgd in what is calld the Town, distant abt. 300 yards from the Fort at one Mr. Semples[1] who keeps a very good House of Publick Entertainment; these Houses which are built of Logs, and rangd into Streets are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be abt. 20 in Number, and inhabited by Indian Traders, etca.

The Fort[2] is built in the point between the River Alligany and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is 5 sided and regular, two of which (next the Land) are of Brick, the others Stockade. A Mote incompasses it. The Garrison consists of two Companies of Royal Irish Commanded by one Captn. Edmonson.[3]

Thursday 18*th.* Dind in the Fort with Colo. Croghan and the Officers of the Garrison; Supped there also, meeting with great civility from the Gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colo. Croghan the next day at his Seat abt. 4 Miles up the Alligany.

Friday 19*th.* Recd. a Message from Colo. Croghan that the White Mingo and other Chiefs of the 6 Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I woud be at his House abt. 11 (where they were to meet). I went up and receivd a Speech with a String of Wampum[4] from the White Mingo to the following effect:

[1] Samuel Semple, or Sample, an innkeeper in Pittsburgh.

[2] Fort Pitt.

[3] Captain Charles Edmonstone, of the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot.

[4] Wampum, the Indian ceremonial emblem, was a comparatively rare shell of some beauty, which was pierced, longitudinally, and strung upon deerskin thongs. These strings were woven into bands or belts, and the size of the belt was generally proportioned to what the Indians considered the significance of the occasion where it was used. The Indian method of sealing and recording treaties, or councils, was by presenting a wampum belt. Wampum was, sometimes, used for personal adornment. As used in the councils, or treaty-making,

That as I was a Person who some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an Embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of; they were come to bid me welcome to this Country, and to desire that the People of Virginia woud consider them as friends and Brothers linked together in one chain; that I wd. inform the Governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harmy. with the white People, and that tho their had been some unhappy differences between them and the People upon our Frontiers, it was all made up, and they hopd forgotten; and concluded with saying, that, their Brothers of Virginia did not come among them and Trade as the Inhabitants of the other Provences did; from whence they were affraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an Eye as they coud wish.

To this I answerd (after thanking them for their friendly welcome) that all the Injuries and affronts that had passd on either side was now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wishd and desird by the People of Virginia than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a People not so much engagd in Trade as the Pensylvanians, etca. wch. was the Reason of their not being so frequently among them; but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connections with them, and that I woud acquaint the Govr. with their desires.

After dining at Colo. Croghan's we returnd to Pittsburg, Colo. Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us

the belts were presented to the opposite party, and in all future discussions of the subject these belts were produced when, in some curious way, the sight of each belt recalled to the Indian speech-chronicler the speech made at the time that belt was presented. It is stated that this chronicler, who was styled 'the Keeper of the Belts' could repeat the speech almost *verbatim*, even though some years had elapsed since it had first been delivered. The Keeper of the Belts was usually an old Indian and he kept in training under him a younger man, who was to take his place, and him he drilled in remembering the speeches, that the record of them might not be lost.

part of the Way down the River, having engagd an Indian calld the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson [1] an Interpreter to attend us the whole Voyage; also a young Indn. Warrior.

Saturday 20. We Imbarkd in a large Canoe with sufficient store of Provision and Necessaries, and the following Persons (besides Doctr. Craik and myself), to wit: Captn. Crawford, Josh Nicholson, Robt. Bell, William Harrison, Chs. Morgan and Danl. Reardon a boy of Captn. Crawford's, and the Indians who were in a Canoe by themselves.

From Fort Pitt we sent our Horses and boys back to Captn. Crawford's w' orders to meet us there again the 14th day of November.

Colo. Croghan, Lieutt. Hamilton [2] and one Mr. Magee [3] set out with us. At two we dind at Mr. Magee's and Incampd 10 Miles below, and 4 above the Logs Town.[4] We passd several large Island[s] [5] which appeard to [be] very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the River, alternately; the Hills on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be abt. 3 and 4 hundred yards wide, and so vice versa.

Sunday 21. Left our Incampment abt. 6 Oclock and breakfasted at the Logs Town, where we parted with Colo. Croghan, etca. abt. 9 Oclock. At 11 we came to the Mouth of big Bever Creek,[6] opposite to which is a good Situation

[1] Washington paid Nicholson for his services on this trip £5.8, and the Pheasant and unnamed warrior £10.13. The party took with them £10.19.2 of stores which were purchased from the commissary at Fort Pitt.

[2] Lieutenant Robert Hamilton of the 18th or Royal Irish Regiment of Foot.

[3] Alexander McKee, deputy Indian Agent for Pennsylvania.

[4] Eighteen miles below Pittsburgh on the north bank of the Ohio.

[5] Known later as Hamilton's Island, which was one mile long, and Irwin's Island, seven miles long; Dead Man's Island, which then was covered at high water, may have been one of those Washington mentions.

[6] Big Beaver joins the Ohio about thirty miles below Pittsburgh, in about the center of Beaver County, Pennsylvania.

for a House, and above it, on the same side (that is the West) there appears to be a body of fine Land. About 5 Miles lower down on the East side comes in Racoon Ck.[1] At the Mouth of which, and up it appears to be a body of good Land also. All the Land between this Creek and the Monongahela and for 15 Miles back, is claimd by Colo. Croghan under a purchase from the Indians (and which Sale he says, is confirmd by his Majesty). On this Creek where the Branches thereof interlock with the Waters of Shirtees[2] Creek, there is, according to Colo. Croghan's acct. a body of fine Rich level Land; this Tract he wants to sell, and offers at £5 Ster'g. pr. hundd., with an exemption of Quit rents for 20 years; after which, to be subject to the payment of 4/2 Ster'g pr. Hundd.; provided he can sell it in 10,000 Acre Lots. Note the unsettled State of this Country renders any purchase dangerous.

From Racoon Creek to little Bever Creek appears to me to be little short of 10 Miles,[3] and about 3 Miles below this we Incampd;[4] after hiding a Barrl. of Bisquet in an Island (in Sight) to lighten our Canoe.

Monday 22*d.* As it began to Snow about Midnight, and continued pretty steadily at it, it was about ½ after Seven before we left our Incampment. At the distance of about 8 Miles, we came to the Mouth of Yellow Creek[5] (to the west) apposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good Land, and the Assent to the Hill apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good Land about two or 3 Miles above this. About

[1] Raccoon Creek flows into the Ohio from an almost due southerly direction.

[2] Chartier's Creek rises in Washington County and flows northeast through Alleghany County, entering the Ohio River at McKeesport.

[3] Old pilot guides make this distance eight miles.

[4] This would have carried Washington nearly if not quite over the State line into Ohio.

[5] Yellow Creek, Columbiana County, Ohio.

11 or 12 Miles from this, and just above what is called the long Island [1] (which tho so distinguished is not very remarkable for length, breadth or goodness) comes in on the east side the River, a small Creek or Run, the name of which I coud not learn;[2] and a Mile or two below the Island, on the West Side, comes in big Stony Creek (not larger in appearance than the other); on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms, or body's of good Land. About 7 Miles from the last Mentiond Creek, 28 from our last Incampment, and about 75 from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town; Situate on the West Side the River a little above the Cross Creeks.[3]

This place contains abt. Twenty Cabbins, and 70 Inhabitants of the Six Nations.

Had we set of early, and kept pritty constantly at it, we might have reachd lower than this place to day; as the Water in many places run pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday.

The River from Fort Pitt to the Logs Town has some ugly Rifts, and Shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the Channel, or not, I cannot undertake to say. From the Logs Town to the Mouth of little Bever Creek is much the same kind of Water; that is, rapid in some places, gliding gently in others, and quite still in many. The Water from little Bever Creek to the Mingo Town, in general, is swifter than we found it the preceding day, and without any shallows; there being some one part or other always deep, which is a natural consequence, as the River in all the distance from Fort Pitt to this Town has not widend any at all nor doth the Bottoms appear to be any larger.

[1] Later called Brown's Island. [2] Not named up to the year 1808.

[3] Cross Creeks, so called from streams emptying into the Ohio on either side, directly opposite to each other. There were many such, but these particular Cross Creeks were in the neighborhood of Steubenville, Ohio, and are called Indian and Virginia Cross Creeks in Cramer's *Navigator*, 1808.

The Hills which come close to the River opposite to each bottom are steep: and on the side in view, in many places, Rocky and cragged; but said to abound in good land on the Tops. These are not a range of Hills; but broken and cut in two as if there were frequent water courses running through (which however we did not perceive to be the case, consequently they must be small if any). The River along down abounds in Wild Geese, and severl. kinds of Ducks but in no great quantity. We killd five wild Turkeys to day.

Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town we receivd the disagreeable news of two Traders being killd at a Town calld the Grape Vine Town, 38 miles below this; which causd us to hesitate whether we shoud proceed or not, and wait for further Intelligence.

Tuesday 23. Several imperfect accts. coming in, agreeing that only one Person was killd, and the Indians not supposing it to be done by their People, we resolvd to pursue our passage, till we coud get some more distinct Acct. of this Transaction. Accordingly abt. 2 Oclock we set out with the two Indians which was to accompany us, in our Canoe, and in about 4 Miles came to the Mouth of a Creek calld Seulf Creek,[1] on the East side; at the Mouth of which is a bottom of very good Land, as I am told there likewise is up it.

The Cross Creeks (as they are calld) are not large, that on the West side however is biggest. At the Mingo Town we found, and left, 60 odd Warriors of the six Nations going to the Cherokee Country to proceed to war against the Cuttaba's About 10 Miles below the Town we came to two other cross Creeks that on the West side largest, but not so big; and calld by Nicholson, French Creek.[2] About

[1] Sewell Creek, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, which flows across the West Virginia panhandle and joins the Ohio.

[2] French Creek enters the Ohio some distance above Marietta.

3 Miles or a little better below this, at the lower point of some Islands which stand contiguous to each other, we were told by the Indians with us that three men from Virginia (by Virginians they mean all the People settled upon Red Stone, etca.) had markd the Land from hence all the way to Red Stone;[1] that there was a body of exceeding fine Land lying about this place and up opposite to the Mingo Town, as also down to the Mouth of Fishing Creek.[2] At this Place we Incampd.

Wednesday 24th. We left our Incampment before Sunrise, and abt. Six Miles below it, we came to the Mouth of a pretty smart Creek comg. in to the Eastward calld by the Indians Split Island Creek,[3] from its running in against an Island On this Ck. there is the appearance of good land a distance up it. Six miles below this again, we came to an other Creek on the West side, calld by Nicholson, Weeling,[4] and abt. a Mile lower down appears to be an other small Water coming in on the East side;[5] which I remark, because of the Scarcity of them and to shew how badly furnished this Country is with Mill Seats.[6] Two or three

[1] Red Stone Creek, a tributary to the Monongahela River, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. The old Ohio Company erected a storehouse near the mouth of the creek, and Colonel James Burd built a fort there in 1758 which was indifferently called Red Stone Fort and Burd's Fort. The town of Brownsville now occupies this site.

[2] Fishing Creek, in Wetzel County, West Virginia, joins the Ohio River at New Martinsville.

[3] Split Island now called Twin Island.

[4] Wheeling Indian Creek; the city of Wheeling is now at the mouth of Wheeling Creek on the east or West Virginia side. Wheeling Creek and Wheeling Indian Creek are other cross-creeks which Washington did not note.

[5] Scalp Creek, the frontier pronunciation of which was 'Sculp.' It is so spelled on the early maps.

[6] Washington's course down the Ohio can be accurately followed by the excellent maps of the river published by the United States Geological Survey; the many little creeks and water-courses he mentions can frequently be identified by these maps, though most of them now bear different names from those Washington gives. It is curious that the Indians with him did not seem to know of the now famous mounds of the Mound-Builders which were but a short distance

Miles below this again, is another Run on the West side; up which is a near way by Land to the Mingo Town; and about 4 Miles lower, comes in another on the East, at which place is a path leading to the settlement at Red Stone. Abt. a Mile and half below this again, comes in the Pipe Creek [1] so calld by the Indians from a Stone which is found here out of which they make Pipes; opposite to this (that is on the East side) is a bottom of exceeding Rich Land; but as it seems to lye low, I am apprehensive that it is subject to be overflowd. This Bottom ends where the effects of a hurricane appears by the destruction and havock among the Trees.

Two or three Miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large Creek on the West side, calld by Nicholson, Fox Grape Vine, by others Captema Creek,[2] on which, 5 Miles up it, is the Town calld the Grape Vine Town; and at the Mouth of it, is the place where it was said the Traders livd, and the one was killd. To this place we came abt. 3 Oclock in the afternoon, and finding no body there, we agreed to Camp; that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the Town, and enquire into the truth of the report concerning the Murder.

Thursday 25th. About Seven Oclock Nicholson and the Indian returnd; they found nobody at the Town but two old Indian Women (the Men being a Hunting) from these they learnt that the Trader was not killd, but drownd in attempting to Ford the Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the Trader (fathr. to him) being gone for Horses to take home their Skins.

from the river at this point; but, in all probability, the unusual formation did not attract the savages' notice.

[1] Pipe Creek enters the Ohio in Belmont County, just below Moundsville, West Virginia.

[2] Captina Creek also joins the Ohio in Belmont County. Both Pipe and Captina Creeks are respectable-sized streams.

About half an hour after 7 we set out from our Incampment around which, and up the Creek is a body of fine Land. In our Passage down to this, we see innumerable quantities of Turkeys, and many Deer watering, and browsing on the Shore side, some of which we killd. Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any Rifts or very rapid water, the River gliding gently along; nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face of the Country, except that the bottoms seemd to be getting a little longer and wider, as the Bends of the River grew larger.

About 5 Miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large Creek to the Eastward calld by the Indians Cut Creek,[1] from a Town, or Tribe of Indians which they say was cut of entirely in a very bloody Battle between them and the Six Nations. This Creek empties just at the lower end of an Island,[2] and is 70 or 80 yards wide, and I fancy is the Creek commonly calld by the People of Red Stone, etca., Weeling. It extends according to the Indians acct. a great way, and Interlocks with the Branches of Split Island Creek; abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good Land. Just below this on the West side, comes in a sml. Run and about 5 Miles below it on the West side also another midling large Creek emptys, calld by the Indians broken Timber Creek; so named from the Timber that is destroyd on it by a Hurricane; on the head of this was a Town of the Delawares, which is now left. Two Miles lower down, on the same side, is another Creek smaller than the last and bearing (according to the Indians) the same name; opposite to these two Creeks (on the East side) appears to be a large bottom of good Land. About 2 Miles below the last mentiond Creek, on the East side, and at

[1] This may be what is now called Fish Creek, in Marshall County, West Virginia.

[2] Fish Creek, Marshall County, enters the Ohio at an island, now called Fish Creek Island.

the end of the bottom aforementioned, comes in a sml. Creek or large Run.[1] Seven Miles from this comes in Muddy Creek [2] on the East side the River, a pretty large Creek and heads up against, and with, some of the waters of Monongahela (according to the Indians acct.) and contains some bottoms of very good Land; but in general the Hills are steep, and Country broken about it. At the Mouth of this Creek is the largest Flat I have seen upon the River; the Bottom extending 2 or 3 Miles up the River above it, and a Mile below, tho it does not seem to be of the Richest kind, and yet is exceeding good upon the whole, if it be not too low and Subject to Freshes.

About half way in the long reach we Incampd, opposite to the beginning of a large bottom on the East side of the River. At this place we through out some Lines at Night and found a Cat fish of the size of our largest River Cats hookd to it in the Morning, tho it was of the smallest kind here. We found no Rifts in this days passage, but pretty swift water in some places, and still in others. We found the bottoms increasd in size, both as to length and breadth, and the River more choked up with Fallen Trees, and the bottom of the River next the Shores rather more Muddy but in general stony as it has been all the way down.

Friday 26th. Left our Incampment at half an hour after 6 Oclock, and passd a small run on the West side about 4 Miles lower. At the lower end of the long reach, and for some distance up it, on the East side, is a large bottom, but low, and coverd with beach next the River shore, which is no Indication of good Land. The long reach is a strait course of the river for abt. 18 or 20 Miles which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio in general, is remarkably

[1] Proctor's Run.
[2] Possibly what was later called Fishing Creek.

crooked. There are several Islands in this reach,[1] some containing an 100 or more Acres of Land; but all I apprehend liable to be overflowed.

At the end of this reach we found one, Martin, and Lindsay two Traders; and from them learnt, that the Person drownd was one Philips attempting in Compa. with Rogers, another Indn. Trader, to Swim the River with their Horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping. Five Miles lower down, comes in a large Creek from the Eastward, right against an Island of good land,[2] at least a Mile or two in length. At the mouth of this Creek [3] (the name of wch. I coud not learn except that it was calld by some Bulls Creek from one Bull that hunted on it) is a bottom of good Land, tho rather too much mixd with Beach; opposite to this Island the Indians showd us a Buffalo Path,[4] the Track of which we see.

Five or Six Miles below the last mentiond Creek we came to the three Island [5] (before wch) we observd a small run on each side coming in. Below these Islands is a large body of flat Land, with a water course running through it on the East Side, and the Hills back, neither so high, nor steep in appearance as they are up the River. On the other hand, the bottoms do not appear so rich, tho much longer and wider, the bottom last mentioned is upon a strait reach of the River, I suppose 6 or 8 Miles in length; at the lower end of which, on the East side, comes in a pretty large Run from the size of the Mouth. About this,

[1] Peyton's, Williamson's, Pursley's, and Wilson's Islands.

[2] What is now Middle Island.

[3] The present-day maps call Bull Creek Middle Island Creek.

[4] On the Ohio shore.

[5] These were called Broadback, Eureka, and Willow Islands on the United States Geological Survey map and are just before the bend in the Ohio around which is the Muskingum, at the mouth of which Marietta was located. In the old pilot guides of the Ohio, these three islands are called the Three Brothers. Newport, Ohio, is now opposite the first Brother.

above, below, and back, there seems to be a very large Body of flat Land with some little risings in it.

About 12 Miles below the three Islands we Incampd just above the Mouth of a Creek [1] which appears pretty large at the Mouth and just above an Island. All the Lands from a little below the Creek which I have distinguished by the name of Bull Creek, appears to be level, with some small Hillocks intermixd, as far as we coud see into the Country. We met with no Rifts to day, but some pretty strong water, upon the whole tolerable gentle. The sides of the River was a good deal incommoded with old Trees, wch. impeded our passage a little.

This day provd clear and pleasant, the only day since the 18th that it did not Rain or Snow, or threaten the one or other very hard.

Saturday 27. Left our Incampment a Quarter before Seven, and after passing the Creek near wch. we lay, and another much the same size and on the same side (West); also an Island [2] abt. 2 Miles in length (but not wide), we came to the Mouth of Muskingham, distant from our Incampment abt. 4 Miles. This River is abt. 150 yards wide at the Mouth; a gentle currant and clear stream runs out of it, and is navigable a great way into the Country for Canoes.

From Muskingham to the little Kanhawa is about 13 Miles. This is about as wide at the Mouth as the Muskingham, but the water much deeper; it runs up towards the Inhabitants of Monongahela, and according to the Indians acct. Forks about 40 or 50 Miles up it; and the Ridge between the two Prongs leads directly to the Settlement.[3] To this Fork, and above, the Water is navigable for Ca-

[1] Duck Creek.
[2] Kerr Island, formerly called Duval's.
[3] The frontier settlement of Fort Pitt, Red Stone, and surrounding region.

noes. On the upper side of this River there appears to be a bottom of exceeding rich Land and the Country from hence quite up to the 3 Islands, level and in appearance fine; the River (Ohio) running round it in the nature of a horse shoe, forms a Neck of flat Land wch. added to that run'g up the 2d. long reach (aforementioned) cannot contain less than 50,000 Acres in view.

About 6 or 7 Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa we came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indns. calld little Hockhocking; but before we did this, we passd another sml. Creek on the same side near the Mouth of the River, and a cluster of Islands afterwards.[1] The lands for two or three Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa on both sides the Ohio, appear broken and indifferent; but opposite to the little Hockhocking there is a bottom of exceeding good Land, through wch. there runs a small water course. I suppose there may be of this bottom and flat Land together, two or three thousand Acres; the lower end of this bottom is opposite to a smal Island wch. I dare say little of it is to be seen when the River is high. About 8 Miles below little Hockhocking we Incampd opposite to the Mouth of the great Hockhocking,[2] which tho so calld is not a large Water; tho the Indians say Canoes can go up it 40 or 50 Miles.

Since we left the little Kanhawa the Lands neither appear so level nor good. The Bends of the River and Bottoms are longer indeed but not so rich, as in the upper part of the River.

Sunday 28th. Left our Incampment about 7 Oclock.

[1] The largest of these became Blennerhasset's Island.

[2] The Great or Big Hockhocking enters the Ohio in Fairfield County, Ohio, about twenty-five miles below Marietta; the Little Hockhocking is eight miles above the Great. Washington's camp appears to have been on the point of land just above what is now Lee's Creek, on the other side of which is Belleville, West Virginia.

Two Miles below, a sml. run comes in on the East side [1] thro a piece of Land that has a very good appearance, the Bottom beginning above our Incampment, and continuing in appearance wide for 4 Miles down, to a place where there comes in a sml. Run, and to the Hills, and to where we found Kiashuta and his Hunting Party Incampd.

Here we were under a necessity of paying our Compliments, As this person was one of the Six Nation Chiefs, and the head of them upon this River. In the Person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went with me to the French in 1753. He expressd a satisfaction in seeing me, and treated us with great kindness; giving us a Quarter of very fine Buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that Night with him, and in order to retard us as little as possible movd his Camp down the River about 3 Miles just below the Mouth of a Creek, the name of which I coud not learn [2] (it not being large); at this place we all Incampd. After much Councelling the overnight, they all came to my fire the next Morning, with great formality; when Kiashuta rehearsing what had passed between me and the Sachems at Colo. Croghan's, thankd me for saying that Peace and friendship was the wish of the People of Virginia (with them) and for recommending it to the Traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing; and then again expressd their desire of having a Trade opend with Virginia, and that the Governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white People; this I promisd to do.

Monday 29th. The tedious ceremony which the Indians

[1] Lee's Creek, West Virginia.

[2] There were several small streams joining the Ohio in this vicinity none of which are named in the older pilot guides.

observe in their Councellings and speeches, detaind us till 9 Oclock. Opposite to the Creek just below wch. we Incampd, is a pretty long bottom,[1] and I believe tolerable wide; but abt. 8 or 9 Miles below the aforemend. Creek and just below a pavement of Rocks on the West side, comes in a Creek [2] with fallen Timber at the Mouth, on which the Indians say there is wide bottoms, and good Land. The River bottom's above for some distance is very good, and continues for near half a Mile below the Creek; the pavement of Rocks are only to be seen at low Water. Abt. a mile or a little better below the Mouth of the creek is another pavement of Rocks on the East side, in a kind of Sedgey Ground. On this Creek many Buffaloes use[d to be], according to the Indians acct.[3] Six Miles below this comes in a small Creek [4] on the west side at the end of a small naked Island, and just above another pavement of Rocks, this creek comes thro a Bottom of fine Land, and opposite to it (on the East side of the River) appears to be a large bottom of very fine Land also. At this place begins what they call the great Bent. 5 Miles below this again on the East side comes in (abt. 200 yds. above a little stream or Gut) another Creek; which is just below an Island, on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, and a parcel of white bodied Sycamores. In the Mouth of this Creek lyes a Sycamore blown down by the wind; from hence an East line may be run 3 or 4 Miles; thence a North Line till it strikes the River, which I apprehend woud Include about 3 or 4000 Acres of exceeding valuable Land. At the Mouth of this Ck. which is 3 or 4 Miles above two

[1] This Long Bottom, so called on the present-day maps, is in what is now Meigs County, Ohio.

[2] Big Sandy Creek, on the West Virginia side. In the bend, half a mile below, is a dangerous ledge of rocks, and a little farther down, on the left shore, is another, equally dangerous.

[3] This has some value as fixing, approximately, the beginning of the westward drift of the buffalo from the extreme eastern limit of his range.

[4] Old Town Creek.

Islands (at the lower end of the last [1] is a rapid, and the Point of the Bend) is the Wariors Path to the Cherokee Country; for two Miles and an half below this the River Runs a No. Et. Course, and finishes what they call the Great Bent. Two Miles and an half below this again we Incampd.

Tuesday 30. We set out at 50 Minutes passd Seven; the Weather being windy and cloudy (after a Night of Rain). In about 2 Miles we came to the head of a bottom (in the shape of a horse Shoe) which I judge to be about 6 Miles rd; the beginning of the bottom appeard to be very good Land, but the lower part (from the Growth) did not seem so friendly. An East course from the lower end woud strike the River again above, about the beging. of the bottom.

The upper part of the bottom we Incampd in was an exceeding good one, but the lower part rather thin Land and coverd with Beach; in it is some clear Meadow Land and a Pond or Lake. This bottom begins just below the Rapid at the point of the Great Bent, from whence a N. N.Wt. Course woud answer to run a parrallel to the next turn of the River.

The River from this place narrows very considerably, and for 5 or 6 Miles or more, is scarcely more than 150 or 200 yards over.

The Water yesterday, except the Rapid at the Great Bent, and some swift places about the Islands was quite Dead, and as easily passd one way as the other; the Land in general appeard level and good. About 10 Miles below our Incampment, and a little lower down than the bottom described to lye in the shape of a horse Shoe, comes in a small Creek on the West side, and opposite to this on the

[1] Letart Island, and Letart Rapid, which are now located in Mason County, West Virginia.

East, begins a body of flat Land which the Indians tells us runs quite across the Fork to the Falls in the Kanhawa,[1] and must at least be 3 days walk across; if so the Flat Land containd therein must be very considerable. A Mile or two below this we Landed,[2] and after getting a little distance from the River we came (without any rising) to a pretty lively kind of Land grown up with Hicky. and oaks of different kinds, intermixd with Walnut, etca. here and there. We also found many shallow Ponds, the sides of which abounding in grass, invited innumerable quantities of Wild fowl among which I saw a Couple of Birds in size between a Swan and a Goose; and in colour somewhat between the two; being darker than the young Swan and of a more sutty Colour: the cry of these was as unusual as the Bird it self, as I never heard any noise resembling it before.[3] About 5 Miles below this we Incampd in a bottom of Good Land which holds tolerably flat and rich some distance out.

Wednesday 31*st.* I sent the Canoe along down to the junction of the two Rivers abt. 5 Miles, that is the Kanhawa with the Ohio, and set out upon a hunting Party to view the Land. We steerd nearly East for about 8 or 9 Miles, then bore Southwardly, and Westwardly, till we came to our Camp at the confluence of the Rivers, the Land from the Rivers appeard but indifferent and very broken; Whether these ridges might not be those that divide the Waters of the Ohio from the Kanhawa is not certain, but I believe they are, if so the Lands may yet be

[1] The Falls of the Kanawha are about one hundred miles from its mouth.

[2] Washington landed on the West Virginia shore, somewhere near Leading and Ten-Mile Creeks.

[3] Possibly this was the Great Blue Heron whose cry is a croaking, bellowing roar totally unlike any other bird voice. Washington's description is hardly sufficient to settle the matter definitely; the bird might have been either the Biue Heron or the American Bittern; but the size and color rather indicate the Heron.

good; if not, that which lyes of the River bottoms is good for little.

November 1st. A little before eight Oclock we set of with our Canoe up the River, to discover what kind of Lands lay upon the Kanhawa.[1] The Land on both sides this River just at the Mouth is very fine; but on the East side when you get towards the Hills (which I judge to be about 6 or 700 yards from the River) it appears to be wet, and better adapted for Meadow than tillage; this bottom continues up the East side for about 2 Miles, and by going up the Ohio, a good Tract might be got of bottom Land Including the old Shawna Town, which is about 3 Miles up the Ohio just above the Mouth of a Ck. where the aforementiond bottom ends on the East side the Kanhawa, which extends up it at least 50 Miles by the Indns. acct., and of great width (to be ascertaind, as we come down) in many places very rich; in others somewhat wet and pondy; fit for Meadow, but upon the whole exceeding valuable, as the Land after you get out of the Rich bottom is very good for Grain, tho not rich. We judgd we went up this River about 10 Miles to day. On the East side appear to be some good bottoms but small, neither long nor wide, and the Hills back of them rather steep and poor.

Novr. 2d. We proceeded up the River with the Canoe about 4 Miles more, and then incampd and went a Hunting; killd 5 Buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, etca. This Country abounds in Buffalo and Wild game of all kinds as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the Bottoms a great many small grassy Ponds or Lakes which are full of Swans, Geese, and Ducks of different kinds.

Some of Our People went up the River 4 or 5 Miles

[1] The Great Kanawha is sometimes called New River.

higher and found the same kind of bottom on the West side, and we were told by the Indians that it continued to the Falls, which they judgd to be 50 or 60 Miles higher up. This Bottom next the Water (in most places) is very rich; as you approach to the Hills you come (in many) to a thin white Oak Land, and poor; the Hills as far as we coud judge were from half a Mile to a Mile from the River; poor and steep in the parts we see, with Pine growing on them; whether they are generaly so, or not, we cannot tell but I fear they are.

Saturday 3. We set of down the River on our return homewards, and Incampd at the Mouth; at the Beginning of the Bottom above the junction of the Rivers, and at the Mouth of a branch on the East side, I markd two Maples, an Elm, and Hoopwood Tree as a Cornr. of the Soldiers Ld.[1] (if we can get it) intending to take all the bottom from hence to the Rapids in the Great Bent into one Survey. I also markd at the Mouth of another Gut lower down on the West side (at the lower end of the long bottom) an Ash and hoopwood for the Beginning of another of the Soldiers Survey, to extend up so as to Include all the Bottom (in a body) on the West side.

In coming from our last Incampment up the Kanhawa I endeavourd to take the courses and distances of the River by a Pocket Compass, and guessing; which I make thus, N by W 2 Miles; NNW 1½ Do., NW ½ Do. to the Mouth of a pretty smart Creek to the Eastward; No.Wt. 2 Do. to another Creek of the same size on the same side; West ½ a Mile; WNW ½ a Mile; NWt. 1 Do. WNW 2 Do; W by N 2 Do.; NW 1½ Do.; WNW ½ Do. to the Mouth.

[1] That is the area to be covered in by the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie in 1754 which promised land to those who would enlist for the French and Indian War. The land promised was specifically designated and the quantity involved was specifically fixed at 200,000 acres.

Sunday 4. The Ohio from the Mouth of the Kanhawa runs thus: North 2 Miles; NNW 1¼, to the Mouth of a Creek and old Shawna Town; N b W 1½ Miles; NEt. 1 Do., NE by Et. 1½; NNEt. 4 Do., ENE ¾ of a Mile to the Mouth of a Ck. on the West side, and to the Hills wch. the Indians say is always a fire,[1] to which the Bottom from the Mouth of the Kanhawa continues and then ends. After passing these Hills (which may run on the River near a Mile), there appears to be another pretty good Bottom on the East side. At this place we met a Canoe going to the Illinoies with Sheep, and at this place also, that is, at the end of the Bottom from the Kanhawa, just as we came to the Hills, we met with a Sycamore abt. 60 yards from the River of a most extraordinary size, it measuring (3 feet from the Gd.) 45 feet round, lacking two Inches, and not 50 yards from it was another 31.4 round (3 feet from the Gd. also).[2]

The 2d. Bottom hinted at the other side (that is the one lying above the Bottom that reaches from the Kanhawa) is that taken notice of, the 30th Ulto. to lye in the shape of a Horse shoe, and must from its situation and quantity of level Ground be very valuable, if the Land is but tolerably good.

After passing this bottom and abt. a Mile of Hills, we enterd into the 3d Bottom and Incampd. This bottom reaches within about half a Mile of the Rapid at the point of the Great Bent.

Monday 5th. I set of the Canoe with our Baggage and walkd across the Neck on foot with Captn. Crawford, distant according to our walking about 8 Miles, as we kept

[1] This probably was an ignited natural gas flow or a vein of bituminous coal that had caught fire from some natural cause.

[2] Another of many instances of Washington's interest in trees. The number of different kinds of trees which he knew and recognized is unusual. His early survey records show his extensive knowledge in this respect.

a strait course under the Foot of the Hills, which run about So. Et. and was two hours and an half walking of it.

This is a good Neck of Land the Soil being generally good; and in places very rich. Their is a large proportion of Meadow Ground, and the Land as high, dry, and Level as one coud wish. The growth in most places is beach intermixd with walnut, etca., but more especially with Poplar (of which there are numbers very large). The Land towards the upper end is black oak, and very good; upon the whole a valuable Tract might be had here, and I judge the quantity to be about 4000 Acres.

After passing this Bottom and the Rapid, as also some Hills wch. jut pretty close to the River, we came to that Bottom before remarkd, the 29th, ulto; which being well describd, there needs no further remark except that the Bottom within view appears to be exceeding rich; but as I was not out upon it, I cannot tell how it is back from the River. A little above this Bottom we Incampd, the afternoon being rainy, and night wet.

Tuesday 6th. We left our Incampment a little after daylight, and in about 5 Miles we came to Kiashutas Hunting Camp which was now removd to the Mouth of that Creek, noted Octr. 29, for having fallen Timber at the Mouth of it, in a bottom of good land; between the Bottom last describd, and this bottom, there is nothing but Hills on the East side; except a little flat of a 100 Acres or so, between. This Bottom thro which the Creek comes may be about 4 or 5 Miles in length and tolerably wide; grown up pretty much with Beach, tho the Soil is good.

By the Kindness and Idle ceremony of the Indians, I was detaind at Kiashutas Camp all the remaing. part of this day; and having a good deal of conversation with him on the Subject of Land, He informd me, that it was further from the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa to the Fall of that

River than it was between the two Kanhawas; that the Bottom on the West side (which begins near the Mouth of the Kanhawa) continues all the way to the Falls without the Interposition of Hills, and widens as it goes, especially from a pretty large Creek that comes in abt. 10 or 15 Miles higher up than where we were; that in the Fork there is a body of good Land, and at some pretty considerable distance above this, the River forks again at an Island, and there begins the Reed or Cain to grow; that the Bottoms on the East side of the River are also very good, but broken with Hills, and that the River is easily passd with Canoes to the Falls wch. cannot be less than 100 Miles, but further, it is not possible to go with them, and that there is but one ridge from thence to the Settlements upon the River above, that it is possible for a Man to travel; the Country between being so much broken with steep Hills and precipices.

He further informd (which seemd to be corroborated by all of[1]
with whom I conversd) that the [land]
back of the Short broken Hills th
but down upon the Rivers are
uneven, and not rich, except the [land]
upon Creeks, till you come towards
heads of the Creeks; then the La[nd]
grows leveller, and the Soil rich[er].

Wednesday 7th. We set out
½ an hour after Seven and [pass-]
ing the Bottom through which [the]
Creek with the fallen Timber at the Mouth runs, and

[1] The pages of the diary that follow from this point to the date of November 17th have been eaten by mice so that the entire lines of writing do not exist; enough remains, however, to justify printing. Some attempt has been made to fill in the missing words that are fairly obvious. These are enclosed in brackets.

which I believe is called Buffalo Creek, we came to a range of Hills for a Mile or more in length upon the River (East side) this comes in the Bottom, opposite to wch. the Creek below wch. we lodgd at with the Indians the 28th Ulto., empties — this also appears to be a bottom of 4 or 5 Miles in length, and tolerable good from the River, when we [p]ass this Bottom the Hills (rather [sm]aller and flatter than usual) come [clo]se to the River (East side for 4 or [5 m]iles) then begins another Bottom above, or opposite to a small [is-] [la]nd; but before we came to this [m]ile or two, we passd a good smart [creek] on the East side, this Bottom [is] opposite to Great Hockhocking above which, and opposite to Dela[ware] Hunting Party, we Incampd

[*Thur*]*sday* 8*th.* We left our Incamp[ment] as soon as we coud clearly dis[tin-] [gu]ish the Rocks; and after pas[sing the] Bottom which neither ap[pears] to be long, wide, nor very [rich] [we] came to a Second Bottom noticed the 27th Ulto., opposite to a Creek on the West side calld by the Indians little hockhocking, but may easily be distinguished by having a large Stone just in its Mouth (the upper side — this bottom is about 7 in length and appears to be very wide, and good and must be very valuable if it not liable to be overflowd, some pa[rt] of it appearing low. The lower part of this bottom (as was obser[ved] the 27th Ulto.) is opposite to a smal[l]

barren Island with only a few bu[shes]
on it, the upper part of it begi[nning]
at much such another place a
side (and part of a pretty long
and at a drain or small run that comes out of the Hills.
This is [with-]
in a Mile or two of the Mouth [of the Little]
Kanhawa, and the next Bottom
except a little narrow slipe
at the foot of the Hills below the
At the Mouth of the Kan[awha]
Captn. Crawford, one of the In[dians]
and myself, left the Canoe, in[ten-]
ding to meet it again at the
Muskingham about 13 M[iles]
above, but the Indian by [mistake]
brought us to the River
Miles below it. In this excursion we passd over various kinds of Land some tolerable good white oak Ground, level, and meadowey, some very Hilly, and broken with Stone; and some black Oak, thinly timberd but good for Farming, and others abt.
Mile before we came to the River
which was at a place where there
no bottom) exceeding good full
el enough and well timberd with
and black Oak; but I suppose
coud not have walk less than
Miles there was no Water. This
[p]art of the Land where I thou
Octr. 27) 50,000 Acres might
; but it does not answer my
[expe]ctations: however, by falling
the River too low, I apprehend
the worst of it; as we were [between]

the Ridges that divide the Wa[ters of the]
Ohio from the Kanhawa; and
up, towards the 3 Islands, has
appearance
st below the Mouth of [Muskingum we]
Incampd.

Friday 9th Novr. The Night prooving very Rainy, and Morning wet we did not set out till ½ after 10 Oclock, and Incampd by the 3 Islands. Seeing a Bear upon the shore we landed, and followed it about half a Mile from the River gave us an opportunity of [seeing]
a little of the Land, which was [not]
hilly, but rich.

Saturday 10th. After a Nig[ht]
of incessant Thunder and Lig[ht]
ning, attended with heavy [con-]
stant Rain till 11 Oclock [that]
day, we set of about Twelve
(the Rain then ceasing) and [came]
to the lower end of the long
distant about 12 Miles —
little stream, imperceptable [to]
the view in our passage [down but]
now pouring in her mite,
River raising very fast [and]
grows so muddy as to ren[der the
water irksome to drink

Sunday 11th. The last Night proved a Night of incessant Rain attended with thunder and lightning. The River by this Morning had raisd abt.
feet perpendicular and was
[trav]elling fast. The Rain seeming

[to] abate a little, and the wind spring[ing]
up in our favour we were
[te]mpted to set of; but were deceivd
[in] both; for the Wind soon ceasd, and
[the] Rain continued without inter
[mis]sion till about 4 Oclock when
[it] moderated. However tho we
not sit of till Eleven we got [to the]
head of the long reach abt.
les the River continuing to [run]
fast, and much choakd with [drift]
wood.

[*Mo*]*nday* 12*th.* There fell a little [rain]
in the Night tho nothing to [speak]
of. Abt Sun rise we left our en-
[cam]pment to encounter a very [heavy]
[s]tream which by this time had [risen]
2 feet perpendicular and running [with
[grea]t velocity. After contending [with this the]
whole day we were not able to get more than about
Miles, the water still rising, a[nd]
the Currt. if possible running [with]
more violence, we came to a res[olu]
tion of ordering our Horses (which
by appointment were to be at P[itts-]
burg the 14th. Inst.) to meet us at
Mingo Town. Accordingly

Tuesday 13*th.* We dispatchd [the]
young Indian express to Vale[ntine]
Crawford who had the charge o[f] them to proceed on [to]
that place, where we purp[osed]
if possible, to get the Canoe
being about 50 Miles below

In pursuance of this resolu[tion]
we Imbarkd again, and with [diffi-]
culty got about 5 Miles furth[er]
to the Mouth of the Upper
broken timber Creek. In
of last Night, the River rose
perpendicular, and in the
with what it rose in the day [it]
must be now 4 or 5 and twenty feet [above]
its usual height, and not a great [deal]
below its banks — in low pl[aces it overflows]
them —

This day about 3 in the afternoon we met two Battoes and a large
[ca]noe going (at a very fast rate) to [the]
Illinois with Provisions for the
[ga]rrison at Fort Chartres

Wednesday 14*th.* The River began [to be]
at a stand between Sunset and dark
night, and continud. for some
[hou]rs so; falling only 2 feet by Sun[rise]
about an hour by sun we [left]
our Incampment and reachd a
above the Captening, (or Fox grape
Creek) about 11 Miles; not finding
[the w]ater quite so strong as yesterday,
[and trav]elling with a little assistance from
[the w]ind — About 2 or 3 Miles below
[Capte]ning I got out (on the West side)
[and wal]kd through a Neck of as good
[land] as ever I saw, between that and
k; the Land on the Hillsides
s rich as the bottoms; than
nothing can exceed, the bottom

the Mouth of Captening appears
[to be of] equal goodness with the one below

[*Thu*]*rsday* 15*th.* The Canoe set of
[at su]nrise, as I did to view that
opposite to the Mouth of Pipe Creek. In passing
Neck I found the lower part
t very rich upon the Ri[ver]
very towards the Hills, with
well Timberd; and not
only in places, the mid
back of the Rich bottom
black and white Oak Land f
ming, or any purpose w
and intermixd with Meadow
the upper end is as rich
quite to the Hills (which
as ever I saw, but subjec[t]
to freshes, of this Bottom,
Timberd Land adjoining, I
may be 12 or 1500 Acres, go
in this manner. Begins
the Hills juts down to the
½ a Mile above Pipe Creek
west) and a Mile or more to [the mouth]
of another Ck. on the East,
Bottom above the Capten[ing]
East side the River, and just
destruction of Timber oc[casioned by a]
Hurricane of Wind — fro[m]
this bottom there is a rang[e of hills]
abt. a Mile, that comes in
mentiond (which I coud g
on which and up in the River
there appears to be a

rich at
is a rich
the bottom
is pretty long but narrow
Creek (on the West side) calld
Nicholson the 24th Ulto.
the River having fallen at

[*Friday*] 16*th*. Directing the Canoe
me at the Mouth of the [creek] called
by the Indians split Island [creek]
which I have since found [to be the]
one distinguishd by the [name of]
Redstone etca. by the
eling; I set out with Capt. [Crawford]
[o]n foot to take a view [of the land back]
a little distance from the [river]
[In] doing this we ascended Hills
to be almost impassable,
the River with stone, and
Timber — back of these [the]
[gro]und is very uneven, and ex[cept]
in spots, not very good;
[fair]ly well Timberd, as far [as I could]
see into the Country the
his kind. Coming on
split Island Creek, some
m the Mouth, we had
nity of observing from
, which are very high
the course of the Creek which Meanders through a bottom of fine land especially at the Forks where there appears to be a large body of it. The vail (through which this Creek runs) as far as we coud see up it, appears to be wide, and the Soil of the Hills which confines it good, tho very steep

in some places. On this Creek, which heads up a little to the Southward of Redstone Settlement, there is, according to the Indians Acct., and all the accts. I coud get, a great deal of fine land. The Body of flat at the Forks is but a very little way from the River in a direct line and may contain, I guess, a thousand Acres or more; below the mouth of this Creek there is a bottom of pretty good Land but not large, and about 5 Miles above, at the Mouth of a small run which comes in at the lower point of an Island (and which by mistake I calld, Octr. 23d, Fishing Creek) there is a bottom of as find land as can possibly be, but not large, containing not more than two or 300 Acres. At the head of this Bottom and a little below the 2d cross Creeks, we incampd distance from our last 13 or fourteen Miles.

Here it was for the 2d time the old Indian with me spoke of a fine piece of Land and beautiful place for a House, and in order to give me a more lively Idea of it, chalkd out the situation upon his Deer skin. It lyes upon Bull Creek, at least 30 Miles from the Mouth, but not more than 5 from the Mouth of Muddy Creek, in an ESE direction. The spot he recommends for a House lyes very high, commanding a prospect of a great deal of level Land below on the Creek, the ground about it very rich and a fine spring in the middle of it, about which many Buffaloes use and have made great Roads. Bull Creek according to his acct. runs parallel with the long reach in the Ohio, not above 6 or 7 miles from it; having fine bottoms which widen as it extends in to the Country, and towards the head of it is large bodies of level rich Land.

Saturday 17. By this Morning the River had fallen (in the whole) 2 or 3 and twenty feet, and was still lowering. Abt. 8 Oclock we set out, and passing the lower cross Creeks we came to a pretty long, and tolerable wide and good bottom on the East side the River; then comes in the

Hills; just above which, is Buffalo Creek[1] (a Creek I neither see nor remarkd in going down) upon which, and above it, between yt. and the cross Creeks near the Mingo Town (distant 3 or 4 Miles) is a Bottom of exceeding fine Land, but not very large, unless it extends up the Creek.

About 3 Oclock we came to the Town without seeing our Horses the Indian (which was sent express for them) having passd through only the morning before (being detaind by the Creeks which were too high to Ford; without going high up them). Here we resolvd to wait their arrival which was expected tomorrow, and here then will end our Water Voyage along a River, the general course of which from Bever Creek to the Kanhawa is about S Wt. (as near as I coud determine); but in its winding thro a narrow vale, extreamely serpentine; forming on both sides the River alternately, Necks of very good (some exceeding fine) Bottoms; lying for the Most part in the shape of a half Moon, and of various sizes.

There is very little difference in the genl. width of the River from Fort Pitt to the Kanhawa; but in the depth I believe the odds is considerably in favour of the lower parts; as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one or two places where the River was broad; and there, I do not know but there might have been a deep Channel in some part of it. Every here and there are Islands some larger, and some smaller, which operating in the nature of Locks, or stops, occasion pretty still water above, but for the most part strong and rapid water along side of them; however there is none of these so swift but that a Vessel may be Rowd or set up with Poles. When the River is in its Natural State, large canoes that will carry 5 or 6000 weight and more, may be workd against stream by 4 hands 20 or 25 Miles a day; and down, a good deal

[1] Buffalo Creek joins the Ohio in Jefferson County, Ohio, about eight miles below Mingo Town.

more. The Indians who are very dexterous (even there Women) in the management of Canoes, have there Hunting Camps and Cabins all along the River for the convenience of transporting their skins by Water to Market. In the Fall, so soon as Hunting Season comes on, they set out with their Familys for this purpose; and in Hunting will move there Camps from place to place till by the Spring they get 2 or 300 or more Miles from there Towns; Then Bever catch it in there way up which frequently brings them into the Month of May, when the women are employd in Plantg. The Men at Market, and in Idleness, till the Fall again; when they pursue the same course again. During the Summer Months they live a poor and perishing life.

The Indians who live upon the Ohio (the upper parts of it at least) are composed of Shawnas, Delawares, and some of the Mingos, who getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the Lands Eastward of the Ohio, view the Settlement of the People upon this River with an uneasy and jealous Eye, and do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their Right if the People settle thereon, notwithstanding the Cession of the Six Nation's thereto. On the other hand, the People from Virginia and elsewhere, are exploring and Marking all the Lands that are valuable not only on Redstone and other waters of Monongahela but along down the Ohio as low as the little Kanhawa; and by next Summer I suppose will get to the great Kanhawa, at least; how difficult it may be to contend with these People afterwards is easy to be judgd of from every day's experience of Lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; than which nothing is more probable if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the People at present. A few Settlements in the midst of some of the large Bottoms, woud render it impractable to get any large qty. of Land Together; as the Hills all the

way down the River (as low as I went) come pretty close and are steep and broken, incapable of Settlements tho some of them are rich and only fit to support the Bottoms with Timber and Wood.

The Land back of the Bottoms, as far as I have been able to judge, either from my own observations or from information, is nearly the same, that is exceeding uneven and Hilly; and I do presume that there is no body's of Flat rich Land to be found till one gets far enough from the River to head the little runs and drains that comes through the Hills; and to the Sources (or near it) of the Creeks and there Branches. This it seems is the case of the Lands upon Monongahela and Youghe. and I fancy holds good upon this River till you get into the Flat Lands (or near them) below the Falls.

The Bottom Land differs a good deal in quality, that highest up the River in general is richest; tho the Bottoms are neither so wide or long, as those below. Walnut, H Locust Cherry, and some other Woods, that grow Snarly, and neither Tall nor large, but coverd with Grape Vines (with the Fruit of which this Country at this Instant abounds) are the growth of the richest Bottoms; but on the other hand these Bottoms appear to me to be the lowest and most subject to Floods. Sugar Tree and Ash, mixd with Walnut, etca. compose the growth of the next richest low grounds, and Beach, Poplar, Oaks, etca. the last. The Soil of this is also good but inferior to either of the other kinds, and beach Bottoms are excepted against on acct. of the difficulty of clearing them, there Roots spreading over a large Surface of Ground and being hard to kill.

Sunday, 18*th*. Agreed with two Delaware Indians to carry up our Canoe to Fort Pitt for the doing of which I was to pay 6 Dollars and give them a Quart Tinn Can.

Monday 19th. The Delawares set of with the Canoe, and our Horses not arriving, the day appeard exceeding long and tedious. Upon conversing with Nicholson, I found he had been two or three times to Fort Chartres [1] at the Illinois, and got from him the following Acct. of the Lands between this and that; and upon the Shawna River; [2] on which he had been a Hunting.

The Lands down the Ohio grow more and more level as you approach the Falls,[3] and about 150 Miles below them, the Country appears quite Flat, and exceeding rich. On the Shawna River (which comes into the Ohio 400 Miles below the Falls and about 1100 from Pittsburg) up which he had hunted 300 and more Miles the Lands are exceeding Level, rich, and fine, but a good deal intermixd with Cain or Reed, which might render them difficult to clear; that game of all kinds was to be found here in the greatest abundance, especially Buffalo. That from Fort Chartres to Pittsburg by Land, is computed 800 Miles; and in travelling thro the Country from that place he found the Soil very rich, the Ground exceeding level to O Post [4] (a French Settlement) and from Opost to the Lower Shawna Town [5] on Scioto equally flat, that he passd through large Planes 30 Miles in length without a Tree except little Islands of Wood, that in these Planes thousands, and 10,000sds. of Buffalo may be seen feeding; that the distance from Fort Chartres to Opost is about 240 Miles and

[1] In Illinois, on the Mississippi River, fifty miles below where St. Louis was founded.

[2] The Shawnee, now known as the Cumberland River.

[3] The Falls of the Ohio are where is now the city of Louisville, Kentucky.

[4] O Post [Old Post or Ouabache Post] was Vincennes, now the county seat of Knox County. It was founded by the French, from Canada, about 1735, on the east bank of the Wabash River and was the Capital of Indiana Territory from 1800 to 1813.

[5] Lower Shawnee Town, on the Ohio at the junction of the Ohio and Scioto Rivers. It was called the Lower Shawnee Town to distinguish it from Logstown, below Pittsburgh, and the Shawnee Old Town above the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

the Country not very well Waterd; from Opost to the lower Shawna Town about 300 more abounding in good Springs and Rivulets; that the remainder of the way to Fort Pitt is Hilly, and the Hills larger as you approach the Fort, tho the Ld. in general is also good.

At Fort Pitt I got the distances from place to place down the Ohio as taken by one Hutchings [1] and which are as follows w' some corrections of mine;

From Fort Pitt to

			Miles
Logs Town		W	18½
Big Bever Creek		W	29¼
Raccoon Creek	GW	E	34
Little Bever Creek		W	44
Yellow Creek		W	52
Big Stony Creek	GW	W	66
Mingo Town		W	73
Cross Creeks			74
Buffalo Creek or Sculp. Ck.	GW	E	78
Second Cross Creeks	GW		84
Weeling or Split Island Ck.[2]	GW	E	94
Sculp Creek [3]	GW	W	100
Path to Redstone	GW	W	108
Pipe Creek	GW	W	110
Captening	GW	W	113
Cut Creek	GW	E	118
Broken Timber Creek	GW	W	123
2d Broken Timber Ck.	GW	W	125
Muddy Creek	GW	E	134
Beging. of ye long reach			137
End of Ditto			155
Bull Creek	GW	E	160
A Pretty large Ck. on the West [4]			178
Muskingham		W	182

[1] Thomas Hutchins (1730–89), geographer, was captain in the 60th Foot, or Royal American Regiment, British Army. In the Revolutionary War he joined in with the Colonies, was a captain and geographer to the Continental Army.

[2] On 24th of October Washington says Wheeling Creek was six miles below Split Island Creek.

[3] Scalp Creek.

[4] Supposed to be Duck Creek.

		Miles
Little Kanhawa	E	195
Little Hockhocking	W	202
Hockhocking	W	210
Creek with fallen Timber at the Mouth	E	230
A sml. Ck. on the West and beging of ye Great Bent	W	236
Another Sml. Ck. on the East just above a Gut	E	241
Rapid at the point of ye Great Bent		245
Big Kanhawa	E	272
The distance by Hutchings is		266¼
Big Guyendot [1]	E	308
Big Sandy Creek	E	321
Scioto River [2]	W	366
Big Buffalo Lick [3] — A Mile Eastward of the River	W	390
Large Island divided by a gravelly Creek [4]		410½
Little Mineamie River [5]	W	492¼
Licking Creek [6]	E	500¼
Great Mineamie River [7]	W	527½
Where the Elephants Bones were found [8]	E	560¼
Kentucke River [9]	E	604½
The Falls		682
To where the low Country begins		837¾
Beging. of the 5 Islands		875¼
Large River on the East side		902¼

[1] Guyandotte River joins the Ohio at Huntington, West Virginia.

[2] The Lower Shawnee Town was on the Scioto.

[3] Hutchins' map gives no such place as Big Buffalo Lick at this point. Licking Creek, now called Licking River, enters the Ohio opposite where Cincinnati now stands. It was called, on the early maps, Great Salt Lick, and the Great Buffalo Lick was a few miles up from its mouth. This may have been the location the old Indian chalked out on his deerskin for Washington on November 16th, *ante*. There was a small creek called Salt Lick Creek that entered the Ohio from the east at this point; but it is too insignificant to count.

[4] This island has degenerated into a sandbar, and Muddy Creek is the name of the stream that cuts it in two. Muddy Creek enters the Ohio just below what is now New Richmond, Ohio.

[5] Little Miami River.

[6] See footnote 3.

[7] Great Miami joins the Ohio in the southwest corner of the State about three miles above Lawrenceburg, Indiana.

[8] Now known as Big Bone Lick, where there are saline and sulphur springs. A great quantity of fossil bones, some of mammoth size, were found in the limestone strata about two miles inland from the Ohio.

[9] The Kentucky River enters the Ohio at Old Fort William, Kentucky.

	Miles
Very large Islands in the Middle of the River	960¼
Ouabache River [1]	999½
Big Rock, and Cave on the West side [2]	1042¼
Shawano River [3]	1094
Cherokee River [4]	1107
Fort Massaiac [5]	1118¾
Mouth of Ohio	1164
In all	1164

The distances from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa are set down agreeable to my own Computation, but from thence to the Mouth of River Ohio are strictly according to Hutchinges acct. which Acct. I take to be erroneous [6] inasmuch as it appears that the Miles in the upper parts of the River are very long, and those towards the Canhawa short, which I attribute to his setting of in a falling fresh[et] and running slower as they proceeded on.

The Letters E and W signifie wch. side of the River the respective Waters come in on, that is, whether on the East or West side.

Novr. 20th. About One Oclock our Horses arrivd, having been prevented getting to Fort Pitt by the freshes. At Two we set out and got about 10 Miles. The Indians travelling along with us.

Tuesday 21st. Reach'd Fort Pitt in the Afternoon, dis-

[1] Wabash River.

[2] A cave in the limestone cliffs on the Illinois side of the Ohio. It is about one hundred and twenty feet deep, and is twenty feet above low water. A quarter of a century later it acquired some local reputation as a rendezvous of outlaws.

[3] The Shawano is now the Cumberland River.

[4] The Cherokee is now the Tennessee River.

[5] Old Fort Massac, on the Illinois bank of the Ohio.

[6] Washington's impression was correct as to Hutchins' distances, as the Cherokee or Tennessee River, by the pilot guides, is but 911 miles from Pittsburgh, while Hutchins makes it 1107 miles. Washington's own mileage calculation was surprisingly accurate; *e.g.* Captina (Captening) Creek, which is about midway of Washington's journey, he called 113 miles from Fort Pitt; the exact distance is 112 miles.

tant from our last Incampment about 25 Miles and as near as I can guess 35 from the Mingo Town.

The Land between the Mingo Town and Pittsburg is of different kinds for 4 or 5 Miles after leaving the first mentiond place we passd over Steep Hilly ground, hurt with stone, coverd with white Oak; and a thin shallow soil. This was succeeded by a lively White Oak Land, less broken; and this again by rich Land the growth of which was chiefly white and red Oak, mixd; which lasted with some Intervals of indifferent ridges all the way to Pittsburg.

It was very observable that as we left the River, the Land grew better, which is a confirmation of the Accts. I had before receivd, that the good Bodies of Land lay upon the heads of the Runs and Creeks; but in all my Travels through this Country, I have seen no large body of Level Land. On the Branches of Racoon Creek there appears to be good Meadow Ground and on Shirtees Creek (over both which we passd) the Land Looks well. The Country between the Mingo Town and Fort Pitt appears to be well supplied with Springs.

Thursday 22. Stayd at Pittsburg all day. Invited the Officers and some other Gentlemen to dinner with me at Samples;[1] among which was one Doctr. Connelly[2] (Nephew to Colo. Croghan) a very sensible Intelligent Man who had travell'd over a good deal of this Western Country both by Land and Water and confirms Nicholson's Acct. of the good Land on the Shawana River up which he had been near 400 Miles.

This Country (I mean the Shawana River) according to Doctr. Connellys Acct. must be exceeding desirable on

[1] This dinner cost Washington £26.1.10.

[2] Dr. John Connolly, who afterwards gave considerable trouble to the people in the neighborhood of the Falls of the Ohio. He was a loyalist, and Lord Dunmore authorized him to raise a corps to be called 'The Loyal Foresters.' He was captured and held a prisoner of war during most of the Revolution.

many Accts. The Climate is exceeding fine, the Soil remarkably good; the Lands well Waterd with good streams, and full level enough for any kind of Cultivation. Besides these advantages from Nature, it has others not less Important to a new settlement, particularly Game which is so plenty as not only to render the Transportation of Provisions there (bread only excepted) altogether unnecessary, but to enrich the Adventurers with the Peltry for which there is a constant and good Market.

Doctr. Connelly is so much delighted with the Lands, and Climate on this River; that he seems to wish for nothing more than to induce 100 families to go there to live that he might be among them. A New and most desirable Government might be established here to be bounded (according to his Acct.) by the Ohio Northward and Westward. The Ridge that divides the Waters of the Tenesee or Cherokee River Southward and Westward and a Line to be Run from the Falls of Ohio, or above so as to cross the Shawana River above the Fork of it.

Doctor Connelly gives much the same Acct. of the Land between Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country, and Post St. Vincent (O Post) that Nicholson does, except in the Article of Water, wch. the Doctr. says is bad, and in the Summer scarce, there being little else than stagnate Water to be met with.

Friday 23d. After settling with the Indians[1] and People that attended me down the River and defray the Sundry Expenses accruing at Pittsburg, I set of on my return home and after dining at the Widow Mierss. on Turtle Creek reachd Mr. John Stephenson[2] (two or three hours in the Night).

[1] 'Paid the Indians £10.13 — Indn. Interpreter £5.8.' (*Ledger A.*)

[2] Here Washington traded some of his horses (presumably two) and gave Stephenson £2.6.3. on the exchange.

Saturday 24th. When we came to Stewards Crossing at Crawfords, the River was too high to Ford and his Canoe gone a Drift, however after waiting there 2 or three hours a Canoe was got in which we passd and Swam our Horses. The remainder of this day I spent at Captn. Crawfords.,[1] it either Raining or Snowing hard all day.

Sunday 25th. I Set out early in order to see Lund Washington's Land, but the Ground and trees being coverd with Snow, I was able to form but an indistinct opinion of it, tho upon the whole it appeard to be a good Tract of Land and as Level as common indeed more so, from this I went to Mr. Thos. Gists, and Dind, and then proceeded on to the Great crossing at Hoglands,[2] where I arrivd about Eight Oclock.

Monday 26th. Reachd Killiams on George's Creek where we met several Families going over the Mountains to live, some witht. having any places provided. The Snow upon the Alligany Mountains was near knee deep.

Tuesday 27th. We got to Colo. Cresaps at the Old Town after calling at Fort Cumberland and breakfasting with one Mr. Innis[3] at the New Store opposite. — 25 Miles

Wednesday 28th. The Old Town Gut was so high as to Wet us in crossing it, and when we came to Cox's the River was Impassable; we were obligd therefore to cross in a Canoe and swim our Horses. At Henry Enochs at the Forks of Cacapehon we dind, and lodgd at Rinkers, the distances thus computed; from the Old Town to Cox's 8

[1] Washington paid Captain William Crawford £25 for his services in accompanying him upon this journey.

[2] Toner thinks, John Hogeland.

[3] James Innes, at the New Store of the Ohio Company.

Miles; from thence to Cacapehon 12, and 18 afterwards, in all 38 Miles, the last 18 I do not think long ones.

Thursday 29th. Set out early and reachd my Brothers by one oclock (about 22 or 3 Miles). Doctr. Craik having Business by Winchester went that way to meet at Snicker's to morrow by 10 Oclock.

Friday 30th. According to Appointment the Doctr. and I met, and after Breakfasting at Snickers proceeded on to Wests where we arrivd at or about Sunset.

[NOVEMBER]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1. Went up the Great Kanhawa abt. 10 Miles with the People that were with me.

2. Hunting the most part of the day, the Canoe went up abt. 15 Miles further.

3. Returnd down the River again and Incampd at the Mouth.

4. Proceeded up the Ohio on our return to Fort Pitt. Incampd abt. 9 Miles below the rapid at the grt. Bent.

5. Walk'd across a Neck of Land to the Rapid and Incampd about Miles above it.

6. In about 5 Miles we came to Kiashutas Camp and there Halted.

7. Reachd the Mouth of Hockhocking, distant abt. 20 Miles.

8. Came within a Mile of the Mouth of Muskingham, 27 Miles.

9. Got to the 3 Islands in the 2d long reach about 17 Miles.

10. Arrivd at the lower end of the long reach abt. 12 Miles, not setting of till 12 Oclock.

11. Came about 16 Miles after hard working the greatest part of the day.

12. Only got about 5 Miles, the Currt. being very strong against us.

13. Reachd the uppermost broken Timber Creek distant about 7 Miles, contending with a violent Currt. the whole day.

14. Came to the Captening or Fox Grape Vine Creek distant about 10 Miles.

15. Reachd Weeling (on the West) where there had been an Indian Town and where some of the Shawnas are going to settle in the Spring, distant from our Incampment 12 Miles.

16. Got within 13 Miles of the lower cross Creeks, 13 Miles.

17. Reachd the Mingo Town about 13 Miles more.

18. At this place all day waiting for Horses which did not arrive.

19. At the same place, and in the same situation as yesterday.

20. Our Horses arriving about One Oclock, at 2 we set out for Fort Pitt and got about 10 Miles.

21. Reachd Fort Pitt in the afternoon and lodgd at Semples.

22. Invited the Officers of the Fort and other Gentlemen to dine with me at Samples.

23. Left Fort Pitt and reachd Mr. John Stephensons.

24. Got to Captn. Crawford's. The Rivr. Yaughyaughgane being very high.

25. Reachd Hoglands at the great crossing.

26. Came to Killam's on George's Creek.

27. Got to the Old Town to Colo. Cresap's, distant from Killam's about 25 Miles.

28. Reachd Jasper Rinker's about 38 Miles from Cresap's and 30 from Cox's, not long ones.

29. Came to my Brother's (distant about 25 Miles) to Dinner.

30. Reachd Charles West's 35 Miles from my Brother's.

[DECEMBER]

Where & how my time is Spent.

1*st.* Reachd home from [Charles] West's, after an absence of 9 Weeks and one Day.

2. At home all day alone.

3. Rid to the Mill in the forenoon, and returnd to Dinner.

4. Rid by Posey's to the Mill, and to the Ditchers. Mr. Boucher and Jacky Custis came here in the Afternoon.

5. Mr. Boucher went away again to Maryland. I rid to the Mill.

6. Rid by Muddy hole and Doeg Run to the Mill, and returnd by Posey's.

7. Rid to the Mill and returnd to Dinner.

8. Went a hunting but found nothing. From the Woods I went to my Mill and so home to Dinner. Doctr. Ross Dind here and went away afterwd.

9. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner.

10. Went up the little Falls to Balendine's Sale. Returnd in the Evening.

11. Rid to my Mill and Ditchers before Dinner.

12. At home all day. Mr. Semple Dined here, and went away afterwards. Doctr. Rumney came in the Afternoon and stayd all Night.

13. Doctr. Rumney went away after breakfast, and the two Mrs. Fairfax's[1] and Miss Nelly Marbray[2] din'd here.

14. Mr. B. Fairfax and Miss Marbray went away after Breakfast and Mr. Peake dind here.

[1] Mrs. Bryan (Elizabeth Cary) Fairfax and Mrs. George William (Sarah Cary) Fairfax.

[2] Marbury?

15. I rid to the Mill and Ditchers by Posey's.

16. Dined at Belvoir with Jacky Custis and returnd afterwards.

17. Jacky Custis went to Annapolis and I to Court. Returnd in the Afternoon.

18. Rid to my Mill and to the Ditchers in the Fore and Afternoon.

19. Went to Colchester on an Arbitration between [Allan] McCrae's Exrs. and John Graham.[1] No business done.

20. Returnd home.

21. Rid to the Mill in the fore and Afternoon.

22. Rid to the Mill and Mill Race in the fore and afternoon.

23. Rid to the Mill before Dinner; at home afterwards alone.

24. Rid to the Mill again in the fore and afternoon.

25. Went to Pohick Church and returnd to Dinner.

26. At Home all day alone.

27. Went a fox Hunting and kill'd a fox in Company with the two Mr. Triplet's and Mr. Peake, who dined here.

28. At the Mill in the Forenoon and afternoon.

29. Went fox hunting in Company with the two Mr.

[1] A merchant, of Colchester, Virginia.

Triplet's and Mr. Peake. Found no Fox. Upon my return home found Mr. and Mrs. Cockburn here.

30. Mr. and Mrs. Cockburn went away. Mr. Miller and his Wife and Mr. Ball dind here.

31. I rid to My Mill in the forenoon and afternoon. Nancy Peake[1] came here.

[DECEMBER]

Saturday 1*st.* Reached home being absent from it Nine Weeks and one day —

11*th.* Agreed with Christr. Shade to drive my Waggon by the year, for the doing of which I am to find him in Bed, Board, and Washing, and to pay him Eighteen pounds a year.

19. Finishd digging and levelling the Mill Race from Piney Branch.

22. Began to Grind Sand in my Mill, the Water being let in upon the Fore Bay. —

27. Shut up Singer after she had been first lined by one or two Cur Dogs. — Jowler being put in with her lind her several times; and his Puppies if to be distinguished saved.

29. Truelove another Hound Bitch Shut up with Ringwood and by him alone lined. —

[1] Daughter of Humphrey Peake.

END OF VOLUME I

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